

VINDICATION

Some among Our Selves

AGAINST THE

False Principles

OF

Dr. SHERLOCK.

In a Letter to the Doctor, occasioned by
the Sermon which he preached at the
Temple-Church, on the 29th of May,
1692.

In which Letter are also contained Reflexions on some
other of the Doctor's Sermons, published since he
took the Oath. By Dr. G. Hiches

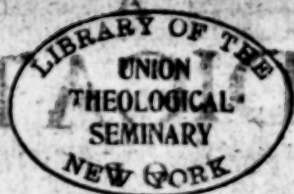
*NB. this is set down in Dr. Hiches's Catalogue of Books unanswered.
See his Discourses on Bourne's & Tillotson's Append. No 9.*

LONDON,

And refer'd to, in the Preface to his Discourses re P. 8.

Printed in the Year MDCXCII.

The 2^d Ed. of this with a large Preface was seized



Some among Our selves

AGAINST THE

False Jesuitical

OF

DR. SHERLOCK.

In a Letter to the Doctor, occasioned by
the Sermon which he preached in the
Temple Church, on the 25th of May
1691.

In which Letter are also contained Reflections on some
other of the Doctor's Sermons published since he
took the Oath.

L O N D O N
Printed in the Year MDCXCII

To the Worshipful the Masters of the Bench
of the Inner-Temple

Gentlemen,

IT is the general Opinion of the World, That you desired your Master to publish the Sermon, which he preached before you on the 29th of May, that the Doctrine he delivered in it might come to publick Trial, and excite some among our selves to give it a publick Refutation. Having little to do this long Vacation, I thought it would help away the time to write my own Reflexions upon it in form of an Answer; and such as it is I humbly present it to you, desiring no other Favour from you, than that you would please to read it over, if it scape the Inquisitors of the Press, and happen to get abroad. Your Study and Profession is the Law, and it is the Defence of Law, and of Justice, which is founded on Law, that I have undertaken against the Doctor, of whom in the following Discourse I have here and there given some Account, as well as of his Principles, that the World may judge of both. A great and eminent Lawyer divides the Law of England into Three Parts; the First of which respects the Church, and it is called, Lex Ecclesiæ; the Second respects the Crown, and is called, Lex Coronæ; the Third respects the Subjects in Common, and it is called, Lex Terræ: And if Providential Possession, according to your Master's Doctrine, can supersede the second part of the Law, and contrary to it give an Usurper a Divine Right to the Crown, and all the Possessions, Authority, and Prerogatives that belong unto it; then I do not see but it must in like manner supersede the other two parts also; and by consequence give ^{the Pope} a Divine Right to the Church of England,

Ld. Chancellor
Elizabere in his
Speech touch-
ing the Post-
ti, p. 33.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

land, if he can recover Possession of it, and the King himself a Divine Right to the Estates, and other Rights of the People, if he can get Possession of them. I believe it will not please the Reverend Doctor to see his Doctrine improved into these Consequences; not only because they are displeasing to others, but ungrateful to himself, who hath a very tender regard to his own Rights, both as a Church-man and a Subject, though he make so light of those of the Crown. But, Gentlemen, I am not here to dispute against him, but by the Dedication of the following Treatise to testify to the World the great Zeal I have for Law and Justice, and the great Esteem I have for you, as Professors of the one, and Patrons of the other; and that I am upon both Accounts,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant.

To the READER.

THE Reader is desired to take Notice, that in the Margin of the following Discourse

- a. *Signifies*, An Answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled Obedience and Submission to the present Government demonstrated from Bishop Overt's Convocation-Book, with a Postscript.
- aa. An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign princes.
- aaa. An Answer to a Letter to Dr. Sherlock, written in Vindication of that part of Josephus's History which gives the Account of Jaddus's Submission to Alexander, against the Answer to the Piece entitled Obedience and Submission to the Present Government.
- b. The Title of an *Usher* after a thorough Settlement examined, in Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers.
- c. The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reason, and the Opinion of the Church, in Answer to a late Book of Dr. William Sherlock, entitled *The Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers*, &c.
- d. Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered, with some Remarks upon his Vindication.
- e. An Examination of the Arguments drawn from Scripture and Reason in Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance, and his Vindication of it.
- f. Dr. Sherlock's Fast Sermon before the Queen.
- g. Precept and Providence, &c.
- h. Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession.
- i. Great Britain's Just Complaints, &c.
- R. In Sect. 13. *signifies* Reverse.
- R&R. In the same Sect. *signifies* Reverses.
- xxx. Dr. Sherlock's Sermon preached on the 30th of January before the House of Commons.
- xxix. His Sermon preached in the Temple Church on the 29th of May.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader may be pleased to observe, that this Book, written against Dr. Sherlock's Sermon preached at the Temple Church on the 29th of May last, is also a full Answer to the greater part of Dr. Tillotson's scandalous Sermon lately preached at *W. Church* on the 17th of October, and since published by him under the Character of *John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*.

T. H. E.

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VINDICATION

OF
Some among Our Selves

AGAINST THE
False Principles

OF
Dr. SHERLOCK.

SIR,

TO justify the Publication of your late Sermon at the Temple, you tell us in the first Period of the *Dedication*, that the Reader *will perceive* it was not intended for the Press; but if you had told us, that the Reader *will perceive* it was not fit for the Press, you had told us a more sensible Truth, which every ordinary Reader may perceive; but it is not so plain and perceivable a thing that you *did not intend it for the Press*; for you know, Sir, that intentions are very secret things, and the many wretched pieces you have Printed since you took the Oath, and pitiful *Sermons* among the rest, make us call your Non-intentions to print this, as well as your Judgment for printing it, into question; for the World knows that you have a great share of Love for your self, and a good Opinion of your own Productions; and whether you only did not intend, or which is more, did intend not to print it, we cannot believe; but your own good Opinion of it, as well as that of the *Bench*, was a great motive to the Publication, or else the refusal of the *Middle-Temple Bench* to concur with the desire of that of the *Inner-Temple*, would in prudence have obliged you to a modest Non-compliance. I assure you, some who bear you no ill will, think they were

much more your Friends in not desiring you to Publish it; for how well soever it might be lik'd in Preaching, it appears so ill in Print, that many Men think the Bench of the *Inner-Temple*, or at least the first makers of the motion among them, desired you to print it to expose both it and you. I have very good reason also to believe that some of the Honourable House had that design in desiring you to print the Sermon which you Preached before them on the 30th of *January* last; for one who was at the making of the Order, despised you for your Flatteries in it, and said, he could not when he heard it, but think of *Mammon* in *Ben. Johnson's Alchymist*, who said, *My Flatterers shall be the pure and gravest of Divines, that I can get for Money*: Another said, he concurred with the Order, because he knew the Sermon would expose you; and to mention no more, a third said to a Friend, that he was going with the Order of the House to complement *Dr. Sherlock* against his own Judgment. Sir, It is a sad Dilemma that some Men, to speak in your figure, bring the Honourable House to, by their wretched Sermons, when Order or no Order will expose the Preacher; and which of the two would have most exposed you, no desire to Print, or to Print at their desire, any Man that has less fondness for your performances, than your self, may easily determine.

Case of Alleg.
to Sovereign
Powers.

P. 21, 22.

2. All the World knows you wrote a Book to prove, that the full Possession of a Crown gives the Possessor a Divine Right to it by Providence; and that this Right of Providential Possession ought to take place of Legal Right, and carry the Subjects Allegiance from the Legal to the Providential King, and it is well known you chose this Hypothesis, because you did not approve of that of Abdicaton, and Vacancy, upon which the Convention proceeded; and yet in this Sermon to the House, you servilely justify the Revolution upon the Principles of Abdicaton and Vacancy, which supercedes your Providential Right by Possession, as much as that in your account supercedes a Right by Law. Thus, Sir, we have you in your Sermon before the House Preaching against your self, and your Reasons in the Case of Allegiance: for in this you set their Majesties Right to the Crown on the Basis of pure Providential Possession; but in that it stands upon the Legal foot of Abdicaton, and Vacancy; for whether the Throne was vacant, or not vacant, fell under the Cognizance of the Estates; they were the sole and proper Judges of it; and private Subjects, whatever their private Opinions were, were bound to acquiesce in the decision of the Case, which ought to determine the Consciences of private Subjects; and yet, as I shall shew anon, you were far from acquiescing in their decision, or having your Conscience determined by it, for almost two years after it was, as it was determined by them: For so long time you had not discovered the Fundamental Reasons of Government, which oblige private Subjects to acquiesce in their decision; nor did the fear of falling into Anarchy and Confusion yet affect you; nor do I believe you would have thought on those two Arguments to this day, had you not been to Preach before the House of Commons, which never did, nor ever will like your Doctrine of Providence: But you were to say something which you thought would please them, and many of them smiled

to hear you contradict your self to flatter them, and despised you for it; and it since came to be a dispute among your Readers, whether in that Sermon you flattered the Honourable House, or their Majesties most.

3. Another Reason why you chose the *Hypothesis* of *Providential Right*, was for the sake of *Passive Obedience*, which upon that *Hypothesis* is so cleverly convey'd, without any contradiction to your *Cause of Non-Resistance*, from the Legal to the *Providential King*. This secret I had from one to whom you spoke freely on that Subject, about the time you were writing your *Cause of Allegiance*; but in this Sermon, because a great part of the House love not the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, you have betray'd that also, in saying, *That you would not dispute the lawfulness of Resisting the King's Authority, whether it were lawfull for the Parliament to take Arms against the King*; and by supposing in the next Paragraph, *That it was lawfull in a limited Monarchy*: But is this the way of arguing against *Resistance*, which not long ago was such a damnable sin, especially on the 30th of *January*? I protest to you, Dr. should I hear you speak at this tender rate from the Pulpit against Adultery, I should think you had a design upon some Ladies in the Congregation, and that you intended they should understand by you that you thought it no sin. Formerly on the 30th of *January*, *Resistance* was a most damnable sin, and the Doctrine of it Popish, Diabolical Doctrine, and the sin of the day was the Murder of a King; but now it seems, Dr. you will not dispute the lawfulness of resisting the King, it may be lawfull for any thing you know to the contrary, even on the 30th of *January*; the sin of which day now it seems, lies in the Murder of a Good King, who kept the Laws, and was a Zealous Patron of the Church of England; of a King of such Virtues, as are rarely found in meaner Persons; nay, which would have adorned an *Hermet's Cell*: But had he been a King that had broken the Laws, and stretch'd his Prerogative to set up an Ecclesiastical Commission against the Church of England, then the killing of him had been no Murder, at least no such barbarous Murder: But, Dr. at this rate of Preaching on the 30th of *January*, Kings and Queens had need take care of themselves; for I do not see but they are upon their Behaviour. *Quam diu bene se gesserint*, and do not break the Laws; but if they do so, let them do it at their peril: For every irregularity in their motions is soon felt, and causes very fatal Convulsions in the State; or as a much better Subject said by way of Apology for Charles I. There is no time past, present, nor will there be time to come, so long as Men manage the Laws, but the Laws will be broken more or less.— So, Dr. in your Temple-Sermon to exhort us to pray for Kings, you tell us, *That it is very difficult to govern a Family*, and that Princes are liable to mistakes like other Men; and that they are exposed to misinformations by Court-Flatterers, and subject to greater Temptations than other Men: But, Dr. If it be lawfull to take up Arms against the King in a limited Monarchy, which you were contented to suppose before the House, and others of your Brethren plainly assert; then God help Kings of such Monarchies, especially where the Springs and Fountains of Government are poisoned, and where the Nation is already divided into

P. 6.

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xxxix p. 21.

Judge Jenkins
in his Works;
p. 23.xxix. p. 24,
25, 26.

xxx. p. 23.

Parriat, both in Church and State: Such Kings, be they by Providence only, or Law and Providence together, it matters not, they had need look to their hits, when their best pretended Friends are willing to suppose it is lawfull to take up Arms against them. All your Apologies and Panegyricks upon their Majesties, and Exhortations to pray for them, can never make them amends for such a supposition; and they must indeed stand in need of more, and better Prayers than yours, if they have no better a Title to the Crown than that of Possession, which you have found out for them; and that too no longer than they *keep the Laws*.

4. These, Dr. to use your own Language, are *very loose Notions of Government and Obedience*, and dangerous at such a time as this, when so many Malecontents in both Kingdoms complain of the breach of Laws. If See h. you will go to Scotland, you shall hear two sort of discontented Men clamour loudly against the Government, the *Jacobite Episcoparians*, and the *Presbyterians*; the latter are so impudent, as to charge King *William* down right with the breach of the Original Contract; and the former complain of torturing Strangers against Law and the Articles of Government; of exercising illegal and unheard of Severities upon the complying Clergy, worse than Dragooning; of abolishing Episcopacy, and thereby altering the Constitution of the Government; and of the Murder and Massacre of a Laird and his Clan in cold blood, after they had laid down their Arms, and submitted to the Government. And you cannot be ignorant of the Complaints which are made at home, by restless and disaffected Spirits, of pretended, Illegal, and Arbitrary Commitments of Men for High Treason; and, not to mention the Reflections which have been made in and out of Parliament upon Mr. *Ashton's* Trial, you cannot but hear what a din this grumbling and disaffected Faction make of excessive Fines, and Bail contrary, as they clamour, to our *English Liberties*, and the Articles of Government: And they bring one Example, among others, of a poor Boy, about thirteen-years old, who was Arraign'd and Try'd at the *Old Bailey*, and condemned to the Pillory, and after he endured this Discipline and many other cruel hardships, was Fined at the Court of the *Old Bailey* above three-score times more than he and his Parents are worth. Sir, These things considered, you should have thundered with your old Zeal, and demonstrations against Resistance, as a damnable sin, and taught Submission and Obedience to their Majesties upon the account of their Office and Character, and not purely upon the account of their Virtues, as you used to do in former Sermons: And let me tell you, Dr. that the most effectual way of serving their Majesties in the Pulpit, and especially on the 30th of *January*, is to Preach up the unconditional Duty of Subjects to Kings as Kings, whether they be good or bad. This was the *Strict Loyalty and Obedience*, which you tell us was so earnestly pressed on the Consciences of Men before the Revolution, and made the People so passive in it: But by your favour Dr. not so passive; for, not to put you in mind of the vast numbers in the *West* and the *North*, Mrs. *Sherlock* her self, sent in a Man and Horse to the assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, and whether it

was with your Connivance or Approbation, God and your own Conscience can best tell.

But however that was, this is certain, that it is most for the Interest of Princes, as well as most becoming Divines, to set the King as a King and not as an Hero before the People; and to convince their Consciences of the inviolable Duty which results from their relation to him as *Subjects*; independent of his moral Qualities; but the other way of Preaching which you have taken up, serves only to beget a precarious and doubtful sense of Duty in the People, who, as your Sermon before the House shews, can soon be made to have the worst Opinion of the best of *Kings*.

5. The *Sanderfons* and *Hammonds* of former times, who guarded the Pulpit from all suspicion of Flattery, would never have Preached so much in commendation of their Royal Masters, as you have Preached in the praise of their Majesties before their Faces, without any regard to their Modesty, which is undoubtedly as great as any of their other Virtues. But since you took the Oath, it hath been a great part of your Study and Employment to write *Panegyricks* on them, and *Sarjts* against their Father, whereof the true reason was long since observed upon another occasion by *Annus Sylvius*, which is this; That the Providential King in Possession hath Bishopricks and Deanries at his disposal, but the Legal King out of Possession hath nothing to bestow.

6. There is yet another passage in your Sermon before the House, which I beg you to reflect upon, it is in the tenth page, where you say, that it is an amazing Providence, that God should expose the greatest Example of Piety and Virtue that had sat upon the English Throne, to such Indignities and Sufferings. Indeed, Sir, according to your new Doctrine, which denies the distinction betwixt God's permission and appointment; a Man may be overwhelmed with amazement to think that God should so expose him; but it is no such matter of amazement to a Master in *Israel* to think he should suffer, or permit them to be so exposed, according to that excellent Doctrine which you formerly taught in a Sermon entitled, *Some seasonable Reflections on the late Plot*. There you tell us in the 11. page, That although God doth many times permit things to be done, (or else no Man could ever be guilty of any sin) yet his forbidding it, is an argument he doth not approve of it, and no Man can reasonably expect success in Plotting against his Prince, but he who certainly knows, that God for some wise ends, and hidden reasons will suffer such a villany to take effect, which no Man can know without a Revelation. You Printed this Sermon since you published your *Case of Non-resistance*, by which you truly proved by this distinction, that *Atbaliah* and *Nuncle Cromwel* were not the Ordinance of God; and unless you fly to this distinction again, you will never get out of your amazement; but if you retreat to the Sanctuary of this old distinction, you will be able to unfold the Mystery of Providence, and solve the difficulties of it in such hard cases as that of the Royal Martyr, where God for wise Reasons of his own, doth only suffer Rebels and Regicides to succeed in their wicked designs, but he doth not approve of what they do,

do, nor declare by the events of his Providence, that he orders, appoints, or authorizes what is done by them. Were that so indeed, as you teach in your *Case of Allegiance*, and suppose to be true in your *Temple Sermon*, a Man might well be amazed, and perplexed into a Labyrinth of difficulties and absurdities, and, to rid his mind of them, be tempted rather to think there was no God: But this distinction removes all perplexities, and sets the mind at ease and freedom: And, Dr. I appeal to your own Conscience, if it doth not often obtrude it self upon your thoughts, since you disclaimed it; and whether your Understanding, so perplexed with amazing Providences, is not often ready to embrace it whether you will or no? Indeed it overthrows the whole Fabrick of your *Allegiance* to their Majesties upon the Providential *Hypothesis*; but your learned Adversaries have made it good against you, and before you Preach up the Divine Right of Providence again, read the places in them cited in the Margent, and when you have read them, lay your Hand on your Heart, if it be not hardened, and repent for having revived an old repudiated Doctrine, which will prove Antichrist to reign by God's Authority, and that he is the Author of all Successful Wickednesses in the World.

7. When I first began to put Pen to Paper, I did not intend to dwell so long upon your Sermon before the House, but there are so many loose passages in it, and so obnoxious to *some among our selves*, that I cannot but take notice of them, and shew you how they expose you for them. In the justification of the Prince of Orange's Undertaking, you tell us, That he was no Subject of England: To which they reply, that you knew this before you took the Oath, and used to say, that the Prince, though he was not the King's Subject, yet ye was his Enemy, and that we ought to have aided the King against him as such: And whereas you tell us, that he was an *Independent Prince*, they observe, that according to your Principle of Possession he was no Prince at all, but that the French King had been long Prince of Orange by a *Providential Right*. As for what you say of his Relation to the Crown, and securing the Succession; they tell you, to expose your weak way of arguing, that Absalom was related to the Crown of David, that the Crown hath suffered much by its Relations, and that the Law is the best security for the Succession. And then as for the Reflection you make upon the *Greatest Sufferers*, who you tell us were well satisfied with the Prince's undertaking, and could not be persuaded to declare their Abhorrence of it. They say, if that were true, it did not become you to expose them for it, who were greatly offended at the Bishop of London for the Speech which he made to his Highness at St. James's, and who told a great Sufferer, to whom you complained of his Lordship, that you repented of every pleasing thought you had of the Prince's coming, and beg'd God's pardon that you among the rest of the Clergy had not exhorted the people to assist the King against him. You also went so far in opposing the Prince, as to print an Answer to Dr. Burnet's Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, which he wrote to facilitate the Prince's Access to the Crown. You also wrote an *Apology for the Non-Swearers*, which you

- a. from p. 5.
to p. 15.
b. from p. 32.
to p. 39.
c. ch. p. 6.
d. from p. 62.
to p. 82.

you could not now answer, if it were in print; and yet without considering that you were one of them, and what *Decorum* you ought, above all others, to keep in speaking of them, you bring this malicious Reflection over again in your first Letter concerning the *French Invasion*: But there will be an Answer to it, which will sufficiently vindicate them, and shew what a Sy-cophant you are; and therefore I shall pass it over here. In the 20th page you endeavour to excuse those who were more active in the *Revolution*, undoubtedly to flatter some of the most active *Members*, who, you say, At that time while the King continued with us, thought no more than to obtain a free Parliament; and then you tell us, That the King would not stand Trial, but disbanded his Army, withdrew his Person, and left no Authority behind him. To all which, Dr. I must beg leave to confront what I find in your Answer to Dr. Burnet's Enquiry. Sometimes his withdrawing his Person and Seals is a giving up the Government, p. 5. (as if intermission of Government were a total giving up of Right,) so that he cannot claim it again if he returns; and yet he grants the case of present danger, and just fear: This ought not to be pressed too far; but that it is indecent to suppose that Kings can be subject to fear; that is, we must not suppose them to be Men, for if they are, fear is an humane Passion. But he had no just cause of fear: I will not dispute that; but suppose he was afraid without just cause, Doth not fear still make the Action involuntary, and save the forfeiture of the Crown? and if it doth, What difference is there betwixt his first and second withdrawing? For it seems he apprehends there was more just cause of fear the second time, and therefore will not lay the Accusation there, but upon his first going; and yet it is a probable Argument, that he was afraid at first, because Kings do not use to forsake their Kingdoms without Fear. But what need of pretending the King's going away, if the Subversion of his Government and Laws dissolved the Government? For it seems he was no King before he went, nor to be looked upon as a King, but a Destroyer; so that whether he had gone or staid, the thing had been the same: But if the King can do no wrong, he can never forfeit his Crown by Male Administration, at least an ipso facto forfeiture was never heard of in Kings; it is more reasonable to bring him to a Trial, than to Judge, and Condemn, and Depose him without Hearing, which is thought hard usage for a Subject: But the mischief is, they know not how to frame the Indictment, where to find Judges, and his Peers to try him; which is an Argument our Law knows nothing of trying Kings, because it hath made no provision for it.

8. Your observing Readers laugh at your Confidence, in saying, That the late Revolution hath made no Alterations in the Principles of Government and Obedience: And to use your own words, Some think your Providential Right a tottering Foundation for the Monarchy that cannot long support it, and every jot as tottering as that of the Power of the People, which you explode; because the People, if they get the Supreme Power of the King, they will plead Providence for it, and keep it, whether they have naturally a Superior Power over him or no. In page 23. you say, It was a wonderful Providence, that the generality of Subjects were meetly Passive at the Revolution: But they say, you used to bemoan the Passiveness of them as sinful,

finfull, especially in the Clergy; particularly, you were often heard with great formality, to recite some words of Dr. Patrick concerning the silence of the Clergy, which you said, *went like Daggers to your Heart*. It seems, once upon a time, you pray'd the Dr. to consider what a dishonour the Clergy's taking the Oath would be to our Religion; to which he reply'd, that if that were all, the Honour of our Religion was gone in the silence of the Clergy at the Prince's Invasion, though some of the Clergy were not so silent as that Dr. imagined; and when another asked you, how you could forbear at that time to Preach up the Duty of Active Assistance, as some others had done? You answered with a shew of Tears in your Eyes, that *they were happy Men*, and striking your Hand upon your Breast, you wished you had done so too. Page 27. You say, *There is no appearance of illegal Usurpations, no oppression of the Subjects just Rights, nor pretence of Clamour of Persecution for Conscience sake*; and yet as some among us observe, according to your own bas'd Hypothesis of *Right to Government*, their Majesties Possession of the Throne is not legal, and by consequence, how rightful soever you pretend to make it in the Eye of Providence, it is an Usurpation in the Eye of the Law: And then as for Persecution for Conscience sake, these Men say, That of all Men it least became you to assert, That there was no pretence to complain of that, who confidently said, *That the late Revolution was the greatest Scheme of Villany that ever was contrived*, and not long since had such an high Opinion both of their Consciences and their Cause, and pretended to believe that they were persecuted not only for Conscience, but Righteousness sake. They say, they are both the same they were as when you were one of them, and though you have changed the Names of them, since you changed your Opinion, yet they think that they still retain their old Nature, and have as much to say for themselves, as you could say for them then. Then they say, you took it ill to be told by the Writers of the Times, That it was not Conscience, but Shame, Peevishness, Stubbornness, and other causes of prejudice, that made the Non-Swearers stand out: And to remove this scandalous Imputation from your self and your Brethren, you went on purpose to the Excellent Bp. of *Chichester*, to put him upon making his *Death-Bed Declaration*, at which the Government was so offended; but since you took the Oath, it is no matter of Conscience, or Difficulty, and it is now dwindled into a Gnat, nay into Nothing, which was a Cammel before. Methinks you might remember the great difficulty with which many thousands that took the Oath took it, and call to mind the lower sense in which they took it, only to live peaceably, and quietly; and how others took it in this sense, only as a Temporary Oath: And if so many Mens Consciences would not let them take it, but in such qualified senses, Why should it not be pure Conscience in these Men to take it in no sense at all? You know the Secret of Dr. *Scor*, why he refused the Bishoprick of *Chester*, it was because his Conscience would not let him take the Oath of Homage to *K. W.* and *Q. M.* and if that Oath was an insuperable difficulty to an honest and well informed Conscience in him, Why should

should not the new Oath of Allegiance be so to *these Men*, who think that at least they have a pretence to complain, that they are persecuted and suffer for Conscience sake? They say farther, that any Government may persecute by Law, as well as against it, and that there is little or no difference between being oppressed and ruined by unjust Laws, or unjustly against Law. Nay, any Persecution is the greater they say, for having Law to support it; and that Conscience is Conscience, whether it suffer against Law by a Tyrant, or by Tyrannical Laws. I remember there is something to this purpose somewhere in your *Case of Resistance*; and then as to the Cause for which *these Men* suffer, no Man, they say, had a more full Persuasion of the Justice of it, than your self. They say, you scarce had patience to hear your best Friends argue against it in favour of the Oath; that you told Mr. *Maur*, you could as soon turn Arian, as take it; and another Gentleman, *That you had considered all that had been written, or could be said for taking of it; and that you were sure if you should take it, you should never rest till you had gone to the same place where you took it, and vomit it up again.* You told another, you thought if you should take it, you should be tempted to destroy your self after you took it; and wondered that the Government should impose an Oath upon Men's Consciences which would make them hate it for imposing of it; nay, so confident were you then that you suffered for Righteousness, that you took the Courage to tell your Murmuring Wife, *That she would lose her Reward for Suffering, but you should have yours;* and to another you said with an Accent that impressed the words upon his Memory, *Our Sufferings, if any thing can, will save the Church, and stand upon Record for it against the Papists in times to come, and help to atone the displeasure of God.* Nay, you then thought the Justice of your Cause so plain, and the other so indefensible, that laying one of your Hands upon the other, you said unto a Person of Quality, *These Hands should restore King James, but that my Wife hath tied them up from Writing.* And another of your common sayings was, *We have a very good Cause, but lose it for want of a Press.* A Man famous for such sayings concerning the Cause, when you were a Sufferer for it, should have more Discretion, if not more Respect for his old Brethren, than to go about to rob them of the Glory of their Sufferings: The Testimony of a good Conscience is all they have left to support them under their Calamity; and it is very hard to make the World believe they have no pretence to that; and that there are no Grievances, unless Monarchy and the Church of England are remaining Grievances. This was bravely said by *Eccobolus* for Fifteen Hundred Pounds a Year; but whether there are Grievances or no Grievances, Suffering for Conscience or no such Sufferings, *these Men* are persuaded that it is not only for the Church, but for the Monarchy and Royal Family that they suffer; and that neither that nor these can long subsist, nor any lasting Peace or true Loyalty be established among us, but upon the Moral and Political Principles, for which they are persuaded they witness a good Confession before God and Men. As for your Principles, they think them, of all other, the most vile and selfish,

selfish, and to be detested of all Sovereign States and Princes, that have any better Title than Possession : For your Principles allow Subjects, though tied with never so many Oaths, to turn to an Usurper as fast as he gains Power, before he is settled in the Throne ; and after he is settled in it, by pure force they oblige them to transfer their whole Allegiance to him ; and therefore you deceived her Majesty, when in the Dedication of your Book of the *Last Judgment*, you professed to her with all the sincerity which the Subject requires, *That you were her most faithful Subject and Servant* : For a faithful Subject will adhere to his Sovereign in times of Adversity as well as Prosperity, and serve him when he is out, as well as when he is in the Throne, with *Life, Limb, and Terrene Honour* : But your Allegiance by your Principles, is a Flattering, Shifting, and Time-serving Allegiance, which you would carry with your Prayers from her Majesty to her greatest Enemies, and begin to Flatter, and Serve them from the first moment you came under their Power. Such Faithful, and Obedient Subjects as you, are like to Summer Flies ; you'll make a great new and buz for your King in fair Weather, when the Sun shines, but in Storms and Tempests you will hide your Heads ; in the long Night-time, or Winter of Adversity you will say, *If he cannot defend himself, let him go* ; and if he go, as many brave Kings have been forced to do, why then, Doctor, you are not *Mind's Supid and slavish Loyalty* to your old Master ; but like the *Gnat* in the Fable, you'll fly to Court in Swarms, to caress your new dear Providential Master, and transfer your Allegiance to him for fear of *being Crush'd*.

9. From your Sermon before the House I beg leave, good Doctor, to make some Reflections upon your *Temple-Church* Sermon, in which, as in your *Fast-Sermon* before the Queen, you speak the Truth, but not the whole Truth on the Subject of Prayer, especially of publick Prayer, * by the Bishop and Ministers, and whole Congregation. You tell us, *That † Prayers are the most Noble Exercise of Charity, and that they are most acceptable to God, because they are offered up in the Spirit of Charity*. And in your *Fast Sermon* you tell us, *That ‡ Faith and Prayer are more powerful than Arms, and that fervent and importunate Prayers are the most sure way to Conquer our Enemies, and to prevail with God for a Blessing upon our Arms*. Now, Doctor, all this, as Some observe, was said a thousand times in the great Rebellion, when the Preachers of the Times made God a Party to their Wickedness, and ascribed all their Success to Prayer. They cited Gideon, and Barach, and Samson, and Hezekiah, as you § do : But then after the Restauration, our Church Divines used to observe, that Justice, as well as Charity, was necessary to make Prayers acceptable to God, and that the Fanatick Preachers, though they talked so much of Prayer, and of Faith, and Charity, and Fervency in Prayer, and produced the Worthies of Scripture for Examples to shew the power of Prayer ; yet they never said one word of Justice, without which Faith in Prayer is but a false Enthusiastical Persuasion, Fervency Enthusiastical Heat, all pretences to Charity Hypocrisie : And Prayers themselves, tho' never so frequent, or long, but an Abomination to the Lord. Dr. Patriek

* P. 8, 9.

† P. 9.

‡ P. 26, 27.

§ ff P. 26, 27.

is very large on this Subject in his *Jewish Hypocrisy*, which I commend to all Men's reading for his sake. In that Discourse he shews at large how the Spirit of *Pharisaisme* was long regnant in the *Jewish Church*, before the time of the *Pharisees*, and that it consisted in a Great, but *Hypocritical Zeal for Fasting and Praying*, and all Religious Duties; and under that Cloak to commit Injustice, Rapine, and Oppression, as our Lord observed of the *Pharisees*, *That they devoured Widows Houses*, and for a pretence made long *Prayers*. To this purpose our Clergy used generally to preach on *Publick Fasts and Thanksgivings*; and truly there is so much *Hypocrisy* regnant in the World, that they did well in doing so; but now of late, as if *Astrea* were returned from Heaven, and the *Golden Age* restored, we have either nothing, or very little said of *Justice* upon *Publick Fasts and Thanksgivings*; of *Justice*, the most Difficult as well as Divine Virtue, without which there is no *Charity*, nor no acceptance of *Prayers*, and Intercession for Kings and Kingdoms at the Throne of Grace. You tell us in your *Fast Sermon*, *That God never delivered the Jews into the Hands of their Enemies, but when they were guilty of Idolatry*: But if you read the *Jewish Hypocrisy*, you will find that *Injustice*, as well as *Idolatry*, was a social cause of God's Judgments, and that their Prophets thundered against that, as much as against this. I am very sensible, Doctor, that there is not so much *Idolatry* among us, as there was among the *Jews*; but as for *Injustice* in all its kinds and degrees, it is a reigning sin among us, and calls for plain and home Reproofs from the Pulpit, as much as any other sin. *Cry aloud and spare not*, is now as much as ever the incumbent Duty of the Clergy. They ought in their Solemn Meetings more especially to tell the People of their Sin, and *Israel* of their Transgressions, because they have filled the Land with Violence, as the Prophet speaks, their Masters House with Violence and Deceit. Our *Fasts and Thanksgivings*, Doctor, will stand us in no stead, 'till we begin our Reformation here. You know what is written, *Isaiah Chap. 1.* better than I do: O, Doctor, let the Prophet there become your Example on the Solemn Assemblies! You used to value your self for your singular boldness in rebuking Vice, and now is the time to exercise that Talent, now is the needful time to preach up *Justice, Judgment, and Righteousness*, without respect of persons; to set your Face like Flint against our *Jewish Christians*, and tell them plainly on our *Fasts and Thanksgivings*, that the best way of *Praying*, is to loose the bands of Wickedness, and to let the Oppressed go free. Oh that you had the Spirit and Tongue of *St. John Chrysostom*, or the Spirit of *Hugh Latimer*, though without *John's* Eloquence, to tell them plainly what is Right and Wrong; to tell them as plainly as Tongue is able to express it; as plainly as *John the Baptist* told *Herod*, and in the hearing of the *Herodians*, *That it was not lawfull for him to have his Brother Philip's Wife*. Oh, Doctor, when I can hear you preach with this freedom, against the *Hypocrisy* of the Times, as *John* did against *Herod*, or our Saviour against the *Pharisees*, among whom there were so many *Herodians*; then I will have as high an Opinion of the *Prayers* of Bishops and Priests, as

you can desire, and think that they will prevail for a Blessing upon our Arms ; but till I can hear them preach at this rate, or something near it, I shall be apt to fear that the God of Righteousness will have no delight in their *Prayers*, because his Eyes are over the Righteous, and his Ears are open to their *Prayers*, Lyars and Robbers, and Thieves, and Oppressors, how Great and Sanctimonious soever, may pray unto God, and the most cunning of them, like the *Pharisees*, may be more Zealous for Solemnities, and make a better Figure than their Neighbours in the House of *Prayer* ; but their most splendid Sacrifices are but Dogs flesh : The Righteous God, though he has the patience to hear them, he abhors them, and returns their most fervent *Prayers* changed into *Curses* upon their own Heads. Nay, Sir, the most righteous persons, in your Language, the *Patron Saints* and *Tutelar Angels of the World*, though they pray with never so much Faith and Fervency, and in never so large and extensive Charity ; yet they pray to no purpose, when by mistake they pray for the success of an unjust Cause or Undertaking, believing of it to be just. In such a Case the Righteous God, though he may accept their good intentions, and reward their Faith and Charity ; yet he will not hear their mistaken *Prayers*. It is against his Essential Justice which is one of his Moral Attributes, to hear Unrighteous and Immoral *Prayers*. He may indeed order Events according to good Men's Unrighteous Desires, but that is for Wise Reasons of his own, and not upon the account of their Desires, as now in *Flanders* he hath, giving the *French King* such amazing Successes ; but if he be such a Tyrant as you describe him to be, then his Successes are not to be ascribed to his good Subjects *Prayers*, but to the secret Reasons of Divine Wisdom, which time will Reveal. So the *Herodians*, as *Scaliger* saith, *Pray'd for the Prosperity of Herod, and kept his Birth-Day*. But, Doctor, neither you nor I believe, that the Tyrant throve ever the better for a pack of sneaking Court-Rabbies : And so *Some* alive, in great Places, pray'd for the Prosperity of *Cromwel* ; but it is not reasonable to believe, that God placed that Villain in the Throne, or kept him five years in it, at the instance of their unrighteous *Prayers*, but to make him a scourge to the Nation for our Sins.

10. I now pass with you from your general Discourse of *Prayer* to your particular Directions of *praying for Kings*, where, to your cost, you have fallen upon *Some among our Selves*, for asserting, that by Kings the Apostle meant only lawfull and rightfull Kings ; and directs only to pray for Kings that have the Legal Right. In your *Fast Sermon*, you call them * *Deluded Protestants* ; and it is a favour you will allow them to be *Protestants* : For one of the irregular Bishops lately told his Clergy, *That they were asked by the Jesuits* ; but in this you point at them by the gentle Innuendo of *Some*, and *these Men*. *Some* such indeed there are among us, whom in your first Letter concerning the *French Invasion*, you tax of *Stupid and Slavish Loyalty*, and *Some of these Men* have baffled you, as much as ever Man was baffled, and made your Friends blush for you ; and wish (as I believe you your self have often done) that you had never medled with the Contro-

versie.

versie: But, Sir, Though you are pleased to call them Men, (yet in effect) you make them *Monsters*, and *Mad-Men*, whose * *Reasonings contradict the* * P. 20. *general Sense, and Practice of Mankind in all Revolutions*; and boldly assert with an Air of Confidence peculiar to Dr. *Sherlock*, † That the *Generality* † P. 20. *of Mankind, and even the most Sober and Considering Men reject them, as having no solid Foundation in Reason and Nature*. Whether that be so or no, we shall see anon; but at present let us enquire whether their Opinion contradicts the general sense and practice of Mankind, and even of the most sober and considering Men; if it do, the general consent of Mankind, or of the most sober and considering Men, is a great presumption against them; but if it do not, then give me leave to tell you, that you are not a *Man of Stupid and Slavish Modesty*, but that your Impudence is a Scandal to the Pulpit, and that you have justly provoked the *Templers* to say of you, as a Gentleman said to one of your Sworn Brethren, that they will never again believe a *Parson* for your sake. One of your learned Antagonists hath observed, * That you acknowledge St. *Chrysostom* to be * b. P. 48. of their Opinion, and he hath cited St. *Basil* against you for saying expressly, *That the Higher Powers mention'd by the Apostle, were such as attain to the Government by Humane Laws*. I hope, Doctor, you will grant, that these two Fathers were sober, and considering Men, who understood the general sense of Mankind; and according to this sense, in which they understood the Apostle, that Author goes on to shew that it was the constant practice of the Primitive Christians to side with that Emperor who had the Legal Title: And to their practice I will add the Testimony of the Emperor *Justinian*, in his Letters to * *Gelimer, King de Facto* of the * Procop. Cæs. *Kingdom of the Vandals in Affrica*, who deposed his Cousin *Hildericum*, *de Bello Vand-* *lico*, l. 1. c. 7, 8. between whom and *Justinian* there was always great Friendship: But to make you understand the Emperor's Letter to this Usurper the better, I must acquaint you, Doctor, that *Gizericum*, the Founder of that Monarchy, who reigned Thirty Nine years, settled the Succession in his Posterity upon the Male Descendents according to Seniority; so that he should always come to the Crown, who was the Eldest among them; and accordingly the Crown had peaceably descended for four Successions to *Hildericum*, whom *Gelimer* depos'd, and shut up in Prison with his Brother's two Sons, who were faithful to their Uncle. As soon as *Justinian* heard of it, he wrote to him to this effect; 'Thou hast acted, *Gelimer*, against Right and Duty, and 'contrary to the Testament of *Gizericum*, in imprisoning an Old Man, 'and thy Kinsman, and the King of the *Vandals*, if the Establishment of ' *Gizericum* be valid, and deposing him by force from the Government, to 'which thou mightest have lawfully succeeded. Do not persist in thy 'Wickedness, nor prefer the Name of a Tyrant before the Title of a 'King, which a little time would give thee; but let the Old Man, who 'cannot live long, enjoy the Royal Power and Dignity, and do thou Ad- 'minister under him, and be content to wait a little while, till thou 'mayest take upon thee the Title of King, according to the Law of *Gize- 'ricum*, by doing this thou wilt please God, and oblige me. This Letter having

having no effect upon the Usurper, he wrote again to this purpose. 'I wrote my former Letter to thee, hoping thou wouldst not persist to act contrary to my Advice; but since thou art resolved to keep Possession of the Kingdom, as thou hast acquired it, take what will follow thereupon; only send unto us *Hildericus*, and *Hoemer*, whose Eyes thou hast put out, with his Brother *Evageer*, that they may receive such Consolation from us, the one for the loss of his Kingdom, and the other for the loss of his sight, as Men in their Condition are capable of. It is in your power to do this, if you do it quickly; otherwise the confidence they have in Us, will oblige Us speedily to help them; nor will it be any infraction of the Peace which our Predecessors made with *Gizericus*, for I shall not make War with one that is his Successor, but avenge the injuries thou hast done. But *Gelimer* was too Ambitious to make restitution, and therefore *Justinian* sent his great General *Balsarus* to make War upon him in behalf of *Hildericus*, the lawfull King; but the first thing that *Gelimer* did after the Landing of *Belisarius*, was to Murder *Hildericus*; but God avenged his blood upon the Usurper, whom *Belisarius* after some years War brought Captive to *Constantinople*, where he cried out on the way as he was led to the Emperor, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*.

To this Testimony of a Christian Emperor, I shall add another of a famous Heathen Prince, *Lycurgus* King of *Sparta*, who though he came lawfully to the Possession of the Crown, yet refused to keep it longer than he was allow'd by Law, as appears by the following Story, which you may find in his Life written by *Plutarch* in the following words. 'This Confusion and Disorder continued a long time in *Sparta*, which occasion'd the death of the King the Father of *Lycurgus*, for as he was endeavouring to quell a Riot, in which the Parties were fighting, he was stab'd with a Cook's Knife, and left the Kingdom to his Eldest Son *Polydester*; but he too dying soon after, the Right of Succession, as all Men judged, rested in *Lycurgus*, and he Reigned until it was perceived, that the Queen his Sister in Law was with Child: But as soon as this appear'd, he declared, that the Kingdom belonged to her Issue, if it proved a Male, and that he would administer the Government only as his Guardian and Regent. Soon after a private offer was made him by the Queen, that she would make her self miscarry, upon condition he would Marry her, when he was sure of the Crown. He hated the Woman for this wicked Proposal, yet wisely smothering his resentment, he did not speak against it, but seem'd to approve and accept it; but dissuaded her earnestly from making her self miscarry, because it might endanger her Health, or her Life; assuring her, that himself would take care that the Child, as soon as it was born, should be taken out of the way. Thus having drawn on the Queen to the time of her Labour, as soon as he heard she was in Travail, he sent some to be present and observe the Birth, with order that if it were a Girl, they should deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, they should bring it to him, whatsoever he happened to be a doing. It happened that the Queen was delivered

of

of a Boy while he was at Supper with the principal Magistrates, and his Servants brought the Boy to him as he was at Table; and he taking him into his Arms, said to those about him, *Behold, my Lords of Sparta, here is your King*; and having said this, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and named him *Charilaus*; that is, *The Joy of the People*, because they were so much transported with Joy at the Birth of the young Prince, and with Admiration at the Noble Mind and Justice of *Lycurgus*; who I fear, Doctor, will rise up in Judgment against you, and condemn you and your unrighteous Doctrine: For though he had Providence on his side, as much as ever Prince had; yet he did not think the Providence of the Gods could give him a Right against the Laws of Nature and *Sparta*: And therefore he became a Subject of a Sovereign, and of a King a Regent; because he could not justly wear a Crown, which by the Law of his Country became another's, and ceased to be his. And to pass over other Kingdoms, I will proceed to shew that there have been many Wife and Brave Men of that Opinion in our own: I will begin with the Reign of *Stephen*, who as *Hoveden* saith, *Invasion the Crown of England like a Tempest, so that all the Nation was forced to submit to him, as it were in the twinkling of an Eye*. He was, Doctor, as you speak, Recogniz'd for King by the States of the Realm, and the great Body of the Nation submitted to him, and took the Oath of Allegiance to him, who himself had taken that Oath to *Queen Maud*; and *Henry* her Son; and yet though he had all the *Emblems of Majesty* by Coronation, and was in full Possession of the Throne, which you call a *thorough Settlement*; there were many Gallant Men, who would not acquiesce in the Publick Judgment of the Nation, because it was incompetent, and erroneous, but after some time opposed him to their utmost as an Usurper, although he had Providence on his side. Among these was * *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*, half Brother to *Queen Maud*, who (as *Malsbury* saith) was the most Learned, Pious, and Valiant Man of his Age. Indeed *Robert* with a reluctant Conscience, had done Homage conditionally to *Stephen*, but though he did it upon condition, he soon recovered himself, and repented of it and took care * to act nothing contrary to his Allegiance to *Maud*; and with the first safe opportunity † sent Messengers to *Stephen* to tell him, *That he renounced his unrighteous Oath of Homage to him, and that he had acted contrary to Law, in that he was not ashamed to Swear Homage to any Mortal while his Sister was alive*. And afterwards, as I shall shew, he could never be brought to turn Subject to *Stephen* in the greatest extremity, when they threatened to take away his Life ‡ if he would not. The Historians, who I believe were sober Men, represent *Stephen* as a † Perjured Usurper, and complain of the Perjury of *Henrico* filio suo, tamen quasi *Tempestas* invasit *Diadema Regni Angliæ*. *Qui si legitime Regnum fuisset ingressus* — *Hoveden*. *Qui Rex illicite ad Regnum aspiraverat*. — *Malsbury*. Sed dum externam vim propulsas, Domesticæ petitar, jam manifestè Deo Perjurii panas ab eo expellente. *Polyd. Virg.*

* Dixerim, nisi adulatio videretur, non imparem fuisset *Julio Cæsari*. *Robertus Christiana Pietate insignis.*
Anno 1139.

* *Robertus quasi positus in speculâ Rerum providebat exitum, & ut de juramento quod fecerat sorori erga Deum & Homines perfidie notaretur fidula cogitabat.* Anno 1137.

† *Homagium etiam abdicato rationem præferens, quàm injuste id fecerat, quia & Rex illicite ad Regnum aspiraverat. — Ipsimet etiam contra Legem egissent, qui post Sacramentum quod sorori dederat, alteri cullibet, et viventi, se manus dare non erubescerent.*

‡ *Quamvis ipsi jurassent juramentum fidelitatis Imperatrici, &*

* || *Quibus, De proprio, salubriter actis Rex Angliam & Angliæ Pacem recepit, Annis enim jam plurimis sine rege Regis nomine insignis tunc recipere visus est bonus rem nominis, quia tunc primo, purgata invasionis Tyrannica Macula Legitimi Principis Justitiam inducit.*

the Times, and say, that it brought down the Judgment of God upon the Land, || *Nu-bigenis* saith, that he was but a *Nominal King* till the Pacification or Agreement made with *Henry*, and that it was that which made him a *Real, Lawfull, and Rightful King*. Nay, the Historians observe in what a signal manner the

Judgment of God fell upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury*, who were the two first that swore Allegiance to him, the former not surviving a year to an end, and the latter being made a Prisoner by him, was miserably vexed by him till he died of Grief. *Malmshury* tells us, *That God made him an example to Men, not to trust in uncertain Riches, which, saith he, Some Men coveting after, concerning Faith have made Shipwreck.* He also tells us, that *Robert Earl of Gloucester* consulted many Religious Men, to know their Opinion, if he might quire his Allegiance to his Sister: And that they answered, *He could neither live in this World with Honour, nor in Everlasting Happiness in the World to come, if he acted contrary to the Oath which he had taken to her.* I suppose, Doctor, the Religious Men, whom that Learned and Wise Prince consulted, as the Guides of his Conscience, were as good Men and Casuists as that Age afforded; and they being dead, yet speak, and give Evidence against you, for asserting that the Opinion and Reasonings of *Some among our selves*, is against the general sense of Mankind. If Mr. *Fuller* in his *Church History* represents the matter right, all the Arguments which you and your Brethren used for taking the new Oath of Allegiance, were then used to justify Swearing Allegiance to *Stephen*, but *Earl Robert*, to use your words, felt not the force of them, he had nothing left him but a *Stupid and Slavish Allegiance to Maud*; for when he was promised to be made as great as *Stephen*, the Throne only excepted, if he would become his Subject; he made this Answer, which (* saith the Historian) *I desire Posterity may know and admire; I am not at my own disposal, but under the Right of another; but when I shall have power over my self, I shall do what the reason of the Case shall direct.* After this Answer, Doctor, which he made in defence of his Allegiance to a Queen that never was Crown'd; the Lords, who brought the Message from *Stephen* to him, began to threaten him with Imprisonment and Death: And what reply do you think he made to that? Why, *Slave of Allegiance* as he was to *Maud*, he told them with a serene Countenance, *That he feared nothing less.* After this, again *Stephen* with the Great Lords came in Person to him, but he *stood like a Rock against the Waves, protesting to them, that he had espoused his Sisters Cause, neither out of the prospect of any Worldly advantage, nor out of hatred to the King, but purely out of Conscience, in consideration of his Duty and Oath, which the Pope had assured him did tie him to her Obedience. Thus, Doctor, we see, that God in the most corrupt times, reserves some to bear witness to Truth, as the Prophet saith, *Except the Lord of Hosts had left us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah.*

The

ANNO 1138.

* Anno 1143.
Non sum mi
(inquit) sed
alieni juris

* Ille velut Pe-
lagi rapas immo-
ta.

The unnatural Usurpation of *Edward III.* was so short before his Father's death, that there was not time enough for those who abhorred it to signalize their detestation of it. But however, Doctor, there were * *Some* who lamented the injuries that *Edward II.* had suffered, and were not afraid openly to reproach his Queen and Son of Impiety and Injustice. *Edmund the Great Earl of Kent*, with some other persons, began to Conspire against them: Which *Q. Isabel*, (who deserves the name of *Jesabel*) perceiving, privately encouraged the Keepers of her Husband to murder him, but his Son coming to Maturity of Understanding, avenged his blood on *Mortimer*, his Mother's Minion, and his Accomplices, whom the Lords of Parliament, with his assent, adjudged and condemned to be executed as Traitors, for murdering the King after he was deposed. The Queen her self also had like to have been questioned, and in the Roll 4 *Edw. III.* which gives an account of this matter, he is stiled by all the Lords, and the young King himself, *their King and Leige Lord*. And in the 21 *R. II. N. 64, 65.* the Revocation of the Act for the two *Spencers* Restitution in the Parliament of *Edward III.* was repealed, because made at such a time by King *Edw. III.* as his Father, being *very King*, was Living and Imprisoned. These two Acts of Parliament, Doctor, do not at all agree with your Reasonings for the Providential King; but they agree most exactly with the Reasonings of *Some Men*, which you say, *contradict the general sense of Mankind*. For as Mr. *Fryn* well observes, they shew that *Edw. II.* was King *de jure*, or King in the Eye of the Law, as much after his Deposition as before it; and by consequence that his Deposition by the Estates, who had no Authority to Depose him, was a void Act; and if he was *very King* when he was in Prison, and his Regnant Son's King, and Leige Lord at the time of his murder, as the aforesaid Acts declare him; then, Doctor, I fear it will follow that a pure Providential K. in Possession, is no King at all.

11. But from this Usurpation let us pass to that of *Henry IV.* who was set up by Providence, and the Estates of the Realm, who took upon them to depose *Richard II.* and place *Henry* in his Throne. But *Henry* being conscious to himself that he wanted Legal Right, though he had all the Right that Providence could give him; yet not daring to trust to such an airy Title, nor his false pretences of being the right Heir, caused *Richard* to be murdered; but between his Deposition and Murder, *Thomas Merke* Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Brave and Godly Prelate, preferring his Duty before his Safety, took the courage to make a Speech in Parliament, against the Validity of *Richard's* Deposition, and the Justice of *Henry's* Election; and if you please, Doctor, to read this Speech as it is at large in our Historians, you will find, in spite of all your prejudice, that he was a *very Wise and Considering Man*, and entirely of *these Mens* Opinion, and produced those Reasons for it which you say, *Contradict the general sense of Mankind in all Revolutions*. The first part of his Speech is to prove, that

* *Nam detrahit qui ejus vicem dolentis summe Principis perfidie, ac Edoardum Regem ac Isabellam impietatis criminis notarent..... Aliqui Optimates, Auctore Edmundo Cantii Comite, secreta passim jam consilia & Sermones deliberando Edoardo regi conferre ceperunt.*
Polyd. Virg. Ang. Hist. lib. 18.

a King may not be deposed by his Subjects for any imputation of negligence and Tyranny ; and to make this out clearly, he brings an ugly Arbitrary distinction betwixt Kings in a *Popular or Consular State*, which really have not Regal Rights, but are subject to a Superior Power ; and Kings in whom the Sovereign Majesty is, as it formerly was in the Kingdoms of *Israel*, and *Judea*, &c. and now is in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Scotland*, &c. in which the Sovereignty, or Supream Authority is in the King. After this distinction (which Some among us now use) he asserts, that in such Kingdoms where the Sovereignty is by Law in the King, although the Prince for his Vices be unprofitable to his Subjects, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable ; yet they cannot lawfully harm his Person, or hazard his Power by Judgment, or by Force ; because neither one, nor all the Magistrates have any Authority over him from whom all Authority is deriv'd, and whose only presence doth silence and suspend all inferior Jurisdctions and Power ; and as for force, saith he, what Subject can attempt, assist, or counsel, or conceal Violence against his Prince, and not incur the high and heinous Crime of Treason ? Then he proceeds to prove this as you do in your *Case of Non-resistance*, from Examples of *Saul* and *Ahab*, in the *Old Testament*, and many Texts of Scripture. Then he proceeds to answer the great Objection thus : *Doth the King enjoy Actions contrary to the Law of God ? We must neither wholly Obey, nor violently Resist, but with a constant courage submit our selves to all manner of Punishment, and shew our subjection by enduring, and not performing.* — Ob how shall the World be pestered with Tyrants, if Subjects may Rebel upon every pretence of Tyranny ? How many good Princes may be suppressed by those by whom they ought to be supported ? If they Levy a Subsidy or other Taxation, it shall be claimed Oppression ; if they put any to Death for Traiterous attempts against their Persons, it shall be exclaimed Cruelty ; if they do any thing against the lust and liking of the People, it shall be proclaimed Tyranny. Having shew'd, as his words are, that King Richard was deposed without Authority : Then he proceeds to shew that Henry had no Title. First, Not as Heir to Richard, which he pretended ; for then he ought to stay till King Richard was dead ; but then if K. Richard was dead, it was well known there were Descendents from *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, whose Offspring had been declared in the High Court of Parliament, next Successor to the Crown, in case K. Richard should die without Issue. Secondly, Not by Conquest, because a Subject can have no right of Conquest against a Sovereign, where the War is Rebellion, and the Victory High Treason. Nor thirdly, by K. Richard's Resignation, because he made it in Prison where it was exacted of him by force ; and therefore it had no force or validity to bind him. Nor last of all, by Election, for (saith he) we have no Custom that the People at pleasure should Elect their King, but they are always bound unto him, who by Right of Blood is Rightfull Successor ; much less can they make good or confirm that Title which is before Usurped by violence. Then he saith, that the deposing of *Edw. II.* (which the Barons produced for an Example to depose Richard) was no more to be urged, than

than the Poisoning of K. *John*, or the Murdering any other lawful Prince, and that we must live according to *Laws*, and not according to *Example*, and that the Kingdom however then was not taken from the lawfull Successor. Then after saying many other things, he concludes thus; *I have declared my mind concerning this Question in more words than your Wisdom, yet fewer than the weight of the Cause requires; and boldly conclude, that we have neither Power nor Policy either to depose King Richard, or to Elect Duke Henry into his Place; and that K. Richard still remaineth our Sovereign Prince, and that it is not lawfull for us to give Judgment upon him; and that the Duke, whom you call King, hath more offended against the King and the Realm, than the King hath done against him or us.* Thus, Sir, spoke that Heroick Prelate in the Court of Parliament, and his practice was answerable to what he spoke: For he chose not the safer, but the juster side, as all good Men ought to do. He knew while he spoke, that Bonds and Persecutions would attend him; nevertheless he spoke freely, and after speaking, was committed to Prison, and after that was crushed with many other brave Men, by the Usurper against whom they rose up. Afterwards about the sixth year of his Reign, Rich. Scroop A.B. of York, with the L. Mambrey Marshal of England, H. Percy E. of Northumberland, L. Bardolf, and * many others, published an Excommunication and † Remonstrance, consisting of several Articles, against Henry, which they fixed upon the doors of Churches and Monasteries to be read of all. It begins thus:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, Amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, Judge of the quick and the dead; We not long since became bound by Oath upon the Sacred Evangelical Book unto our Sovereign Lord Richard, late King of England, that we as long as we lived should bear true Allegiance, and Fidelity towards him, and his Heirs succeeding him in the Kingdom by just Title, Right, and Line according to the Statutes and custom of this Realm; have here taken unto us certain Articles subscribed in form following, to be proponed, heard, and tried before the just Judge, Christ Jesus, and the whole World; but if (which God forbid) by Force, Fear, or Violence of wicked Persons, we shall be cast in Prison, or by violent death be prevented, so as in this World we shall not be able to prove the said Articles as we wish, then we do appeal to the High Cœlestial Judge, that he may judge and discern the same in the day of his Supreme Judgment. First, We depose, say, and except, and intend to prove against Lord Henry Darby, commonly called King of England, (himself pretending the same, but without all Right and Title thereunto) and against his Adherents, Favourers, Complices, that they have ever been, are, and will be Traitors, Invaders, and destroyers of God's Church, and of our Sovereign Lord Richard, late King of England, his Heirs, his Kingdom, and Commonwealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appear. — In the second Article they declare him forsworn, perjured, and excommunicate, for that he conspired against his Sovereign Lord King Richard. In the fourth they

* As I suppose, the Earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon, Gloucester, the Lords Clarendon, Roper, with divers other Knights and Esquires; and after that the Lord Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester, and Lord Henry Percy, Son and Heir to the Earl of Northumberland.

† In the first Volume of Fox's *Acts and Monuments* in the Reign of H. IV.

recite by what wrong, illegal, and false means he exalted himself into the Throne of the Kingdom; and then describing the miserable State of the Nation, which followed after his Usurpation, they again pronounce him Perjured and Excommunicate. In the fifth Article they set forth in what a barbarous and inhumane manner *Henry* and his Accomplices imprisoned and murdered *K. Richard*, and then cry out, Wherefore O *England* arise, stand up, and avenge the Cause, the Death and Injury of thy King and Prince; if thou do not, take this for certain, that the Righteous God will destroy thee by strange Invasions, and Forreign Power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an Act. In the seventh they depose against him for putting to death not only Lords Spiritual, and other Religious Men, but also divers of the Lords Temporal there Named; for which they pronounce him Excommunicate. In the ninth they say, and depose, that the Realm of *England* never flourished nor prospered after he Tyrannically took upon him the Government of it. And in the last they depose and protest for themselves, and *K. Richard* and his Heirs, the Clergy, Commonwealth of the whole Realm, that they intended neither in Word nor Deed, to offend any State of Men in the Realm, but to prevent the approaching Destruction of it, and beseeching all Men to favour them and their Designs, whereof the first was, *to exalt to the Kingdom the true and lawfull Heir, and him to Crown in Kingly Throne with the Diadem of England.* Upon publishing these Articles, much people resorted to the Archbishop, but he being circumvented by the Earl of *Westmoreland*, who pretended to join with him, dismissed his Forces at his persuasion, upon which he was immediately made Prisoner, and beheaded at *York*, with the Earl Marshal, and divers *Yorkshire* Gentlemen and Citizens of *York*, who had joined with him. The Earl of *Northumberland*; and Lord *Bardolph* escaped, and held out two years longer before they were cruised by the Usurper; but at last they were both slain Fighting in the Field against him. You see, Doctor, in this Remonstrance how the Archbishop, and Lords that joined with him, contrary to the *general sense of Mankind*, unking'd this *Providential King* for want of a *Legal Title*, and Remonstrated against him as a *Perjured Traitor* and *Usurper*; and when he lay upon his Death-bed, he himself also began to be of their Opinion, contrary to the *general sense of Mankind*, when his guilty Conscience forced him to tell his Son, *That he had no good Title to the Crown*; but he, not inferior to his Father in Ambition, snatched it from his Pillow, and plainly told him, *That as he had got it by the Sword, so by the Sword he would keep it.* And in truth, Doctor, your Title by Providence against Law, is *Sword Title*, and your *Providential Kings*, *Sword-Kings*; for in all Kingdoms the Sword is King, where their lawfull Prince is not; the Sword or Supream Force Rules all, and that Supream Crushing Force, which by God's permission gets and keeps possession, makes your *Providential Kings*.

12. I have hitherto shewed you what Opinion many Wise and Considering Men had of *Henry IV.* and his Reign for want of *Legal Right and Title*. And I now proceed to shew the sense that a whole Parliament had of

of him, and of his Son, and Grand-Son's Succession, the latter sitting in the Throne. This appears from *Roll. Parl. 39 Henry VI.* as it is in *Cotton's Abridgement*, or rather from the Record at large, as it is to be seen, as it was lately printed in an Answer, by a skillful and faithful hand, to *The unreasonableness of the new Separation upon account of the Oaths.* This Roll gives an account, how *Richard Duke of York*, Father of *Edward IV.* brought to the Parliament Chamber in writing *not a Petition* but a *Claim* to the Crown, of which *Henry* had been long fully and quietly possessed; and his Title, which was only Succession by Birth-right, being fully made appear, it was the Opinion of all the Lords, that *it could not be defeated.* That single Title by Proximity of Blood was thought sufficient to supersede all the patch'd Titles of *Henry*, and all that could be said in favour of him from the Oath of Allegiance which the People had made to him, from divers Acts of Parliament, whose Authority was laid against his Title; from the Entail of the Crown made by the Parliament upon his Father and his Heir; and lastly from his Grandfather's Claim to the Crown, as right inheritor from *Henry III.* which *Richard* proved to be false. And here, Doctor, I cannot but observe unto you, that among all the Pleas which *Henry* and his Counsellors made use of to defeat *Richard's* Title, they never thought of your *Divine Title from Providence*, being so infatuated as not to attend to the *General Sense* of Mankind. Wherefore, Doctor, either your Principles of Government are not the general Sense of Mankind, or this Providential King, with his Privy-Council, and Great Council in *Parliament*, were all bewitch'd, that they could not think of them to stop the Duke of *York's* Mouth. He advis'd with the greatest Divines, and with the greatest Men both among the Common and Civil Lawyers, and yet not one of them suggested the Title of Providence, or full Providential Possession; but had they hit upon it, and urg'd it, *Richard* would have answer'd them as he did to their Plea taken from their Oaths, (*viz.*) that God's Commandments, which prefer Right, and Truth, and Justice, and not the Events of Providence, are the Rule for them to walk by, and that all Acts of the Estates against Law, Truth and Justice, are void and of no effect. The same is as true of all Possession against Law, Truth and Justice, let it come by never such amazing Providences; and therefore, Doctor, either your Notion of Providential Right, is not agreeable to the general sense of Mankind, or else *Henry* and his whole Council were out of their Wits and common Senses not to perceive it; but, in truth, Doctor, it became the general Sense of Mankind only since the Victory of the *Boyn* made it become yours. From this Judgment of the Parliament 39 Hen. VI. I send you to the Judgment of another, 1 *Edward IV.* which after reciting the Lineal Title of *Edward* Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*, from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, and declaring how *Henry* *Darby* did rear War against *Richard II.* contrary to his Faith and Allegiance. 2dly. That he took upon him Usurpously the Crown, and Name of King, King *Richard* being in Prison and living. 3dly. That against God's Law, Man's Legiance and Oath of Fidelity, and in a most unnatural

unnatural Tyranny he put him to Death: They then declare, *That Edward rightfully removed Henry VI. from his Occupation, Intrusion and Usurpation of the Realm; and that he, and no other ought to be their Lord and Sovereign by God's Law, Man's Law, and the Law of Nature; and that Henry Darby called K. Hen. IV. his Son called K. Hen. V. and his Son called K. Henry VI. had against all Law, Conscience, and Custom of the Realm, usurped the Crown, and exercised the Government by unrighteous Intrusion and Usurpation; and if they did so, then they had no Providential Divine Right.* I must also observe unto you, that it was in this King's Reign that the distinction between the K. *de facto* to signify the Usurper, and the K. *de jure* to signify the true legal K. was first used in *Parliament*; and I appeal to your own Conscience, if it be not yet seared, whether that be an arbitrary distinction, and to be * rejected as having no solid Foundation in Reason and Nature. I will maintain, that it hath as much Foundation in Reason and Nature, as that famous distinction in the Civil Law, betwixt *Mala fidei*, and *Bona fidei* Possessor: *But if your Reasons about Providential Right be true, then this distinction also must be Arbitrary as to Possession of Kingdoms, because no Man in full Possession, can be *Mala fidei* Possessor of a Crown. To these Authorities, let me add those of the generality of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the late Usurpations: They used the same distinction of Powers which you call Arbitrary, the same reasoning which you call uncertain, and were of the same Opinion, which you say contradicts the general Sense of Mankind. Dr. Sanderson, whose Authority will be venerable, and much greater than yours, *is for that unchangeable Allegiance to the Legal K. out of Possession, which you most prophane-ly call *Stupid and Slavish Allegiance*, and in his Censure of *Atheism*, as one of your learned Answerers hath observed, charges your Opinion with the these immoral Consequences. 1. 'That it evidently tends to the taking away of all Christian Fortitude and Suffering. 2. To the encouraging of daring and ambitious Spirits to attempt continual Innovations, with this confidence, that if they can possess themselves of the Supreme Power, they ought to be submitted to. 3. To the obstructing unto the Oppressed Party all possible means, without a Miracle, of recovering his just Right, of which he shall have been illegally and unjustly dispossessed. And lastly, to the bringing in of Atheism, and the contempt of God and Religion. The Bishop of St. Asaph was very sensible of this last Consequence since he took the Oath, for he told the A. — B. — with great Gravity and Seriousness, *That he could not but admire the Providence of God that so many took the Oath, and some, among whom (saith he) there are great and considerable Men have refused to take it; for me (saith he to my Lord) who have taken the Oath, have preserved our Religion from Popery, and you who stand out, preserve it from Atheism:* and if they do, Doctor, as you also once thought, then their Opinion cannot contradict the general Sense that Mankind have of Right and Wrong. I am sure the old Cavaliers had the very same Sense that these Men to their sorrow have now; for they both called Charles II. King, and thought him to be so, tho' he

* XXIX p. 17,
20.

* Prelist. V.

was out of Possession, and out of the Land too. Nay, they took Commissions from him as *King of England*, and fought for him as their *King*; and not to make him so, as you Sophistically speak in your *first Letter *concerning the French Invasion*. Nay, the Convention that call'd him home, call'd him in as *King*, not to make him so; and dated their first Session in the Twelfth year of his Reign, which, according to your Principles and Reasonings, was but the First. Mr. Pryn was one of the Members of it, and his Sense and Opinion was point blank against yours, as you may find at large in his **Plea for the Lords*, and his *Concordia Discors*; and I cite him because it was his studied Opinion, and the Practice of his latter years was according to it, as appears also from a Paragraph or two in his *Preface to Canon's Abridgment*, which I here declare, I produce against no Person nor no Authority but yours. * That all Parliaments and Ambitious * Self-seekers in them, who under pretence of a Publick Reformation, * Liberty, the Peoples Ease or Welfare, have by indirect Surmise, Policies, Practices, Force, and new Devices, most Usurped upon the lawfull Prerogatives of their *Kings*, or the Persons, Lives, Offices, or Estates of such Nobles, Great Officers, and other persons of a contrary Party, whom they most dreaded, malign'd, and which have impos'd new Oaths and Engagements on the Members to secure, perpetuate, and make irrevocable their own Acts, judgments, and unrighteous proceedings, have always proved most Abortive, Successless, Pernicious to themselves, and the activest Instruments in them; the Parliaments themselves being commonly totally Repealed, Null'd, and the Grandees in them Suppressed, Impeached, Condemn'd, Destroyed as Traytors and Enemies to the Publick, in the very next succeeding Parliaments, or not very long after. That *Kings* created, and set up meerly by Parliaments, and their own Power in them, without any true Hereditary Title, have seldom answer'd the Lords and Commons Expectations in the Preservation of their just Laws, Liberties, and Answers to their Petitions; yea, themselves at last branded for Tyrants, Traitors, Murderers, Usurpers; their Posterities Impeached of High Treason, and disinherited of the Crown by succeeding *Kings* and *Parliaments*, as you may read at large in the *Parliaments* of, &c. From these three last Observations, we may learn, that as *Parliaments* are the best of all Courts, Councils, when duly Summoned, Conven'd, Constituted, Ordered, and kept within their legal Bounds: So they become the greatest Mischiefs and Grievances to the Kingdom, when like the Ocean they overflow their Banks, or degenerate and become, through Sedition, Malice, Fear, or Infatuation by Divine Justice, Promoters of corrupt sinister Ends, or Accomplishers of the private Designs and ambitious Interests of particular persons, under the disguise of publick Reformation, Liberty, Safety, and Settlement.

You see, Doctor, here, how Mr. Pryn distinguishes between legal *Kings* by Hereditary Title, and *Kings* that are not legal; and between *Parliaments* Convened and acting legally, from *Parliaments* that are not so Convened,

Conven'd, and do not so Act: But in your *Providential Hypothesis*, which must damn all such distinctions as *Groundless and Arbitrary*, it is enough that any Man, *Jack Cade*, or *Oliver Cromwel*, be set up for King by the Estates of the Realm, howsoever Conven'd and Acting. Once the Estates of this Realm did most illegally call in a *French King*, and set him up in the Throne, and swear Fealty to him; and if in the late designed *French Invasion*, which if God had thought fit might have succeeded, they had set up the great Oppressor of the Liberties of Europe; then, according to your Doctrine, he must have been King, and by your Principles, and all the seriousness which the Subject of the Last Judgment requires, you must and would have professed, without any regard to the Recognitions of their Majesties right, that you were his most faithful Subject and Servant.

To this Authority of Mr. Pryn I shall add that of Judge Jenkins, who protested against the Power of the two Houses, when they had made the King their Prisoner, and usurped his Sovereign Authority, and had power to crush his Majesty, and much more any other Man in the Kingdom. Shortly after Judge Jenkins printed his *Protestation*, and a Justification of it from Law, in which he declared he should hold it a great Honour to dye for the honourable and holy Laws of the Land. It was for the King then and his Authority, that he stood up against the Powers in being, who were then in your *Power*, and he asserted before them, *That Allegiance followed the King's natural Person, then Prisoner at Holmby*. And as for the times before him he declared, that all *Deposers of Kings were Traitors*, that *Henry IV.* was an Usurper, and that *Kings de facto are Usurpers*, that come in by the Consent of the People. This is the Doctrine of Judge Jenkins, of famous Memory; but yours, Doctor, is the scandalous Doctrine of presbyterian Mr. Jenkins, and Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth, as has been observed by a plain honest Layman, in a † Book which he wrote against you, and which I believe you can never answer. I wonder how Dr. Grove, your old Acquaintance, who wrote against Jenkins, takes it, to have his Reasonings condemned by you, as contrary to the general Sense of Mankind; they were received with great Applause by all wise and considering Churchmen, when they were first published, and I do not hear he hath retracted them: And therefore, Doctor, give me leave to make use of his Testimony, among others, to prove that the Reasonings of *Some among our selves* are not contrary to the general Sense of Mankind. To these common Lawyers let me add the Authority of one Civilian, the learned Sir John Hayward, in his Answer to the First Part of a Conference concerning Succession, by R. Doleman; and to these single Authorities that of all the Judges in the famous Case of the *Postnati*, which two of your learned Adversaries have cited against you, (*viz.*) *That Allegiance follows the natural Person of the King, and that it is not taken away, though the King is expelled by Force, and another usurps*. When you were first acquainted with this Opinion of the Judges by a learned Lawyer, you express'd your Satisfaction with Joy, and talkt of printing the discovery; but since you have taken the Oath their Authority signifies not a Straw; for you are become

† Providence
and Present

|| d. p. 101.

c. p. 37.

† Sir Francis
Moor's Reports

79.

become the true Son of your Sire *Leviathan*; who was above all Authority but his own. To these Lawyers of our own Countrey I beg leave to add that of two or three foreign Lawyers; whereof two are Scottish Men; the learned *Craig*, and Sir *George Mackenzie*; the former's Opinion is to be seen in a learned MS. of his, entitled *Thomae Craigii de Jure Successionis Regni Angliae Libri duo, adversus Sophismata Personarum Doctissimi, quibus non solum Jura Successionis in Regnis, sed etiam ipsorum Regum S. Auctoritatem nititur everti*. The Opinion of the latter is to be read in his *JUS REGVM*, or Defence of the Succession in Scotland; and as he wrote in that Book, so he lived and dyed a faithfull Subject, or if you will, Doctor; a *stupid Slave of Loyalty*; for he was one of these Men: And it is well for you that he dyed when he did; for had he survived in Health, you, and some other Writers would, as I have been informed, have soon heard from him. The third is a Dutch Man of no small Authority, even *Hugo Grotius*, who was a wise and considering Man indeed; and did not use to write Contradictions to the general Sense of Mankind; but yet he, as you have been told already by a very learned *Man, saith expressly in contradiction to your Doctrine, † *that it is lawfull to kill an Usurper, if it be with the Authority of him that hath the Right to govern, whether that Right be in the King, Senate, or the People.* And in these (saith he) we are to reckon the Tutors and Guardians of young Princes, as *Jehoiada* was to *Joash* when he deposed *Athaliah*. From these Men, whom you did not know, I proceed to some of your Acquaintance, and I hope, Doctor, you will not take it ill to hear them speak. The first shall be Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Bp. of *Worcester*, who is reputed a wise and considering Man, and Writer, that did not use to write Contradictions to the general Sense of Mankind; and yet in several places of his * *Grand Question* he hath asserted, that several Acts of Parliament made by *Edward III.* in his Father's life time, and by *Henry IV.* were null and void, because they were Usurpers, or in your Language Providential, but not Legal Kings. And in his Sermon before the Commons, *Novemb. 13. 71.* He tells them that Providence doth not found any Right of Dominion, but onely shews, that when God pleases to make use of persons as Scourges, he gives them Success above their hopes; but Success gives them no Right. The next is Dr. *Burnet*, who in the first Part of the *History of the Reformation* speaks of *Henry IV.* as a Traitor and Usurper, and how doubtfully he speaks of Providence in his Sermon before the Prince at *St. James's*, you may remember as well as I. The third is Dr. *Comber*, who, as I hear, confesseth that he and others went too far; but however I that think the Doctor as good an Author before as since the Revolution, will not balk his Authority, especially since he hath retracted nothing publickly; and he saith on the Collect for the King, 'That his Friends are our Friends, and his Enemies our Enemies; for whoever attempts to smite the Shepherd, seeks to destroy the Sheep, and he is a mortal Foe to the whole Nation. I know nothing so common with Rebels and Usurpers, as to pretend Love to those they would stir up against their lawfull Prince; but it appears to be Ambition and Covetousness in the latter end; and such Persons design to rise

* 22. p. 52.
† De Jur. Bell.
et Pac. l. 1.
c. 14.

* Vid. p. 58,
80, 81, 83, 85.

by the fall of many thousands. Or if Religion be the ground of the Quarrel, besides our late sad Experience, Reason will tell us, that War and Faction, Injustice and Cruelty, can never lodge in those Breasts where that pure and peaceable Quality doth dwell. If it be a *foreign Prince* that opposeth our King, he is a Robber, and unjust, to invade his Neighbour's Rights: If he be a *Subject* who riseth against his Sovereign, he hath renounced Christianity with his Allegiance, and is to be esteemed a troubler of our *Israel*: Therefore whosoever they be that are *Enemies to the King*, or whatsoever the pretence be, we wish they may never prosper in that black Impiety of *unjust Invasion*, or *unchristian Rebellion*. How like a Saint, and an excellent Casuist, doth the Doctor write here; but how this agrees with his Speeches, Letters, and Actions, since the *Insurrection at York*, Time, and Opportunity of Printing will shew. The fourth is Dr. *Tennison*, who had occasion to consider your Doctrine, long before it was yours, in his Book entitled *the Creed of Mr. Hobbs examined*. In his Epistle dedicatory to that Book, saith he, Mr. *Hobbs* hath framed a Model of Government pernicious in its consequence to all Nations, and injurious to the Right of his present Majesty; for he taught the People soon after the Martyrdom of his Royal Father, that his Title was extinguished when his Adherents were subdued; and that the Parliament had the Right for this very reason, because it had Possession. And in *Arr. 8. p. 156.* first Edit. It is not for you to pretend to Loyalty who place Right in Force, and teach the People to assist the Usurper with active Compliance against a dispossessed Prince, and not merely to live at all adventure in his Territories, without owning the Protection by unlawfull Oaths, or by running into Arms against the dethron'd Sovereign. And *p. 157.* I say then again, that you give Encouragement to Usurpers; and also when Civil Disorders are on foot, as it happens too frequent in all States, you hereby move such People as are yet on the side of their lawfull Prince, whose Affairs they see declining, straightway to join themselves to the more prosperous Party, and help to overturn those Thrones of Sovereignty to which a while before they prostrated themselves. — The People thus misinstructed will imitate those idolatrous Heathens, who for some years worshipped a Goddess made fast unto a Tree; but as soon as the Tree began by Age and Tempest to appear decaying, they paid no farther devotion to their Deity, neither would they come within the shadow of the Oak or Image. You see, Doctor, how this Author wrote then against *Hobbs*, just as *some among Us* write now against you; and as well as you are acquainted with him, yet I believe he would swell as big at you, as at the sight of any *Jacobite*, if you should tell him, that the most sober and considering Men rejected his Reasonings as contradictory to the general sense of mankind. The last Authority, Doctor, is your Great and Dear Self, who not long since was a Man of those Reasonings, and that Opinion by which *some among our selves* have the impudence, since you were of another Judgment, to contradict the general sense of Mankind. I shall not trouble you with a review of your *Writings before the Revolution*, but take

take you as you were almost two years after it, whilst you were under the *second Dispensation of slavish Loyalty*, nor as yet had discover'd the My-
 series of Providence, but were as zealous as any of these *Men* to defend
 Laws and legal Rights against the Events of it; but whether *falsely* or
 not *falsely*, as you pretend, some matters of Fact will shew. I shall
 not insist on the half Sheet you published at the sitting down of the Con-
 vention, against making the P. of *Orange* King; but onely observe, that
 then you supposed the Throne to be full; and asserted; That the Estates
 then convened could not give him the Crown, because it was not theirs to
 give. A little after this you wrote the Answer to Dr. *Burnet's* Enquiry,
 which I mentioned before, in which you assert, in opposition to the *Dof-
 tor*,
 that King *James* was a King not by governing well, but by Birth right, and
 could no more cease to be King by governing ill, than a Traitor or a Rebel cease
 to be a Subject: And this you proved from the paternal Relation of a Fa-
 ther, who never ceases to be a Father, how great a Tyrant soever he be.
 You also challenged the *Dof-
 tor* there, to shew you any Law of God, or
 our Country, which upon any Cause dissolves our Allegiance, and asserted,
 that the Descent of the Crown must be governed by the Laws of the Land. I must
 here tell the Reader, that this Answer of yours was never published, lest
 he should lose his labour in enquiring after it; for though it was printed,
 yet whether at *Xanippe's* Instance, or any other Cause of Fear, you sup-
 pressed all the Coppies but two, which happened to get abroad, and one
 of those fell into my Hands. After this, on the 8th of *April* following,
 you went to a learned Gentleman, to persuade him not to be present at the
 Coronation; and though their Majesties had been recognized by the Estates,
 and were then in full Provisional Possession, yet you told him, you had
 rather take the Oath twenty times than bear a part in it: But about the
 beginning of *May* after you wrote a Discourse for taking the Oaths, enti-
 tled, *The Lawfulness of taking the New Oath of Allegiance to King William
 and Queen Mary*, stated upon the strictest Principles of Church of England Loy-
 alty; and after you had finished it you sent it, as I understand by a Letter
 from the *West*, to Dr. *Bu—* (by which I understand Dr. *Burnet*;) but that
 Discourse plainly supposing the Government to be an Usurpation, and that Non-
 resistance was reserved as a Duty to King *James*, from whom it could not be
 suspended, it was not thought fit to be published. This Book was seen and
 perused by many, particularly two or three Clergymen at *Tunbridge* in
August following said they had read it: But to doe you Justice, *Dof-
 tor*, be-
 fore this you did all you could to suppress it, because it would not hold;
 but it was now too late to attempt the suppression of it, for Copies had
 got abroad into several Hands, and I have one of them at your Ladies Ser-
 vice, who I suppose was not against writing of it. Upon Conviction this
 Paper would not hold, then you grew very warm against the Oath; for in
 the latter end of *June*, or beginning of *July*, you affirmed, that the taking
 of it was not onely a recognizing, but making the P. of *Orange* King; (as yet
 then Providence had not made him so:) adding, that though you could assen-
 sually forbear assisting King *James*, yet you could not swear never to assist him, that

• *Vindic.* p. 79,
 80.

being not consistent with an Acknowledgment of his Right; and that the more you thought of the Oath the more you liked it, and would have nothing to do with it. Remember this, good Doctor, and then consider if it doth not become a Man that said and did such things then, to rant and swagger against some among our selves now. It was now about this time that you were in the highth of your Favour against the Government and the Oaths, which discovered it self by many Symptoms, upon several occasions: When you first heard the News of a Fast, which happened to be at your Houffe in the Temple, *How! a Fast?* said you; *I'll warrant you we shall have dainty Prayers!* Prayers, said Dr. Sharp, *that I am more afraid of than the Oaths.* And what! Must we have Sermons too? *I'll give them a Sermon that they shall not thank me for;* and accordingly you did so: Your Text I remember was, *The Lord is a Man of War, the Lord of Hosts is his Name;* and then you preached contrary point blank to what you have since printed; and the drift of your Discourse was so plainly levelled against the Government, and the Intention of the day, that you gave great Offence to their Majesties good Subjects, who filled the Town with Complaints against you; but you valued not that, but was pleased with it, delighting to give some among us an account of what you had preached, and how you had met with them. About this time also you wrote a Discourse against taking the Oaths; which you shewed to a Learned and Reverend Divine on the 29th of July. I suppose it was your Letter to Dr. Williams, whose Answer to it you despised, as Stuff that did not deserve a Reply; though one, who saw it, saith you stole your Argument from Jaddus, and other things out of it, which you have put in your *Case of Allegiance*. In August out comes the first part of the *History of Passive Obedience*; which you carested into the World, and were so taken with it, that you went to a very learned Man, who since became your Antagonist, to pray him to write a Sheet of Conclusions, not against some, but against other men, upon the Doctrines and Principles collected in it; and that he might not mistake your design, you left it in writing with him, and he still hath the Original in the following Words, *The Doctrine of Nonresistance and Passive Obedience is founded on an irresistible Authority; consider then what are the Rights of an irresistible Authority, and what the Duties of Passive Obedience*. 1. *The Rights of Sovereign and irresistible Authority are that he cannot forfeit his Crown, that he cannot be judged or deposed by his Subjects; (and Abdication and Desertion are but other names for this;) and therefore when once King, he is always so till Death, or voluntary or legal Resignation.* 2. *Nonresistance does not only signifie not to fight against the King, but;* 1. *That upon no pretence we must renounce his Right.* 2. *We must never set his Crown upon another's Head.* 3. *We must not transfer our Allegiance to another.* In this Month also dyed the Bp. of Chichester, of everlasting Memory, to whom, as a Person of Honor can testifie, you went about four or five days before he dyed, to move him to make his Declaration. About the same time you sent a Paper to Oxford against taking the Oath; I have forgot the Title of it, but I remember a passage in it to this purpose, That as Usurpers seize upon the Lands, and Houses, and Fortifications of the King for their

their own use; and turn them to their own Service against Law; so against Law they seize upon the Law themselves, and use them against their first Intention to their own Service, and the destruction of the King and his faithfull Subjects, for whose defence they were made. About the beginning of September you wrote an Apology for the Nonswearers, which you designed for your Masterpiece; and in December following a malicious Pamphlet coming out against the Bishops, entituled *A Letter out of the Countrey*, &c. you began an Answer to it in defence of them; but staying out too long where you wrote it, Mrs. *Satan* and *Sherlock* took you to task, and succeeded so well, as to make you confess where you had been, and about what, and then it was no great Conquest to make you send for your Papers by six a Clock next morning, and offer them as an Holocaust to atone her displeasure. In all this time that you were so warm and zealous against the Oath, you helped to disperse the few small Pamphlets that were printed against taking of it, and expressed much trouble, that others that were larger could not get abroad; particularly you were very zealous for Printing *The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession*; which you then thought an admirable Piece, and upon all occasions you were wont to express your Affection and Duty to King *James*, and your desire for his Return; as by drinking to his Health and happy Restauration, and at other times by sending up devout Ejaculations for it, and saying *Amen* if others did so. And, Sir, your own Memory and your Conscience can inform you that these are Truths, and no Inventions; and how they agree with your Preface to your *Case of Allegiance*, and the Conclusion of your Vindication of it, let the Readers, and especially the Lawyers, judge. In that Preface you tell us, that you had stuck in your former Opinion to this day, had you not been relieved by Bp. *Overall's* Convocation Book: But how did that relieve you? Or when did the pretended Doctrine in it begin to operate on your Understanding, and remove your former difficulty? I am sure that it was sent you Sheet by Sheet from the Press, and had no Operation upon you at the first reading; but happening to lie in the Bookseller's Shop some time before it was Published, for want of the Preface; the News of it brought abundance of Clergy-Men, and others, to read it there, and some that had taken the Oaths thinking these Passages made for them, they discovered them, and formed Arguments from them to justify their own Compliance, but you dispised them for wresting the Words of the Convocation, and used to observe upon that occasion, how Men would be glad of any pretences, and catch at any Twigg to bear up themselves against their own Consciences. This was in December before you took the Oaths, and no Body that I ever met with perceived you to be of any other Opinion till after the *Victory of the Boyne*: For in that interim you behaved your self among your Brethren, as you had done formerly, particularly you shewed Complacency enough at the Victory which the French had over us by Sea, in hopes it would hasten another Revolution; and accordingly taking Horse at a Gentleman's Door, who then thought you deserved a better; you told him, that you now hoped by *Michaelsmas* to have a better

Horace.

Horle. This was but a little while before the News of the *Boyne* Victory came to Town, and then *Doſtor* it was that *Bp. Overall's* Book gave you greater Freedom and Liberty of Thinking, then you firſt diſcovered your New Notions, and Inclinations to your Brethren, then you thought it high time to emancipate your ſelf from your ſtupid Church of England Loyalty, and the ſlaviſh Principles of it, the Rights of irreſiſtible Authority, and the Duties of Paſſive Obedience: All vaniſhed then upon New Light; for *Egeria* appear'd to you upon the Banks of the *Boyne*, and inſpired you with New and Freer Notions, and ſhewed you in that glorious Scene, how your former Reasonings contradicted the General Senſe of Mankind, and had no foundation in Reason or Nature, and revealed unto you a Divine and ſafer Principle upon which you might Swear Allegiance, without the Imputation of Apoſtacy or renouncing the Doctrine of the Church of England, to *WILHELMUS NASS. ANG. SCOT. HIBER. ADEODATUS AUGUSTUS*, and alſo ſwear it back again to King *James*, if ever he ſhould recover the Throne in a recuperative War. But to make out your Hypotheſis of a Thorough Settlement the better, you were willing alſo to have *Limerick* taken before you took the Oath; and therefore you wrote to a Friend then at *Dublin*, to ſend you word aſſoon as that Town was taken, becauſe, as he knew, it concerned you much to know it. But, *Doſtor*, as you ſay of the Nature of things that Town was pretty ſtubborn, and you were in haſte, and could not ſtay for the Surrender of it; but the new Settlement was ſufficient for your purpoſe without it, or perhaps the *R. R. Welch Prophet* aſſured you it would be taken, and that was enough to a willing and well diſpoſed Mind. And now, *Doſtor*, upon an impartial Review of your former Principles and Practice, will you ſeriouſly tell me, did you not think your ſelf as wiſe and conſidering a Man before you took the Oaths as ſince? And could you well have born it, if any Man had then dogmatically told you, that your Reasonings were uncertain, and that your Opinion was contrary to the General Senſe of Mankind, or that it was rejected by the moſt ſober and conſidering Men? Alas! What ſhall we inferiour Mortals and little Writers do, thus to have *Sherlock* againſt *Sherlock*? Which of the two ſhall we believe? *Sherlock* ſaying, or *Sherlock* unſaying what he ſaid, and for what he ſuffered? *Sherlock* confeſſing, or *Sherlock* retracting his Confeſſion? *Sherlock* deprived, or *Sherlock* reſtored, and higher preferred? *Sherlock* baffling others, or *Sherlock* by others miſerably baffled? *Sherlock* with the Generality of Writers, or *Sherlock* againſt the Generality of them? *Sherlock* with the learned and venerable Writers of Authority, or *Sherlock* with a few little ſanatical Writers of no Authority? *Sherlock* ſaying and proving, or *Sherlock* barely ſaying and appealing, but not proving what he ſaith? But as the learned

* *aa.* p. 106.
 111. See alſo
 p. 11.

† *a.* Poſtſcript.

Author of the Reply to your Vindication * hath obſerved, methinks you ſhould have but little Stomach to appeal to the general Senſe of Mankind, to which your fundamental Doctrine, and the Arguments that ſupport it, are contrary, except *John Goodwin* and his Fellows be the Senſe of Mankind. And in another † place he obſerves, that when he had urged you in his firſt Book to ſhew any one approved Author of your ſide the Controverſie,

verly, you only produced two, *Calvin* and *Gratius*, against the first of which
 he tells you there is just Exception, and that the other is directly against you.
 And it is now a year since his Answer came out, and any Man of tolerable
 Modesty would have produced more and better Authors on his side, be-
 fore he had asserted from the Pulpit and the Press, that his *Adversary's* *Rea-*
sonings were resisted by the most sober and considering Men, and contradicted the
general Sense of Mankind. For God's sake, *Dollar*, what privilege have you
 above other Men thus to impose upon the World, and treat your *Adver-*
saries at this rate? Have your new Principles set you free from the slavish
Doctrine of Modesty as well as that of *Loyalty*? Or have you acquired the
 Authority of an Oracle that Mankind is bound to receive Maxims from
 you, and to believe without examining what you say? Perhaps you may
 be *protocutor* the next sitting of the Convocation; or if you have not the
 Chair, you will have the next Seat to it; and notwithstanding this *Ad-*
vantage, and so many *London Livings* in your Disposal, I desire and chal-
 lenge you to propose your *Doctrine*, and the Reasonings that support it,
 to the two Houses, to try whether they will approve or condemn it. Their
 Authority you will needs allow to be great and venerable, and I
 dare appeal to them as Judges of the Controversy, not doubting but that
 they will be of the same Mind with the Convocation at *Oxford*, where the
 Doctors and Masters, in *July 1683*, damned your Doctrine in the Censure
 of the following Proposition, which in the *Decree* runs in these Words,
 — *Possession and Strength give a Right to Govern, and Success in a Cause or*
Enterprize, proclaims it to be lawful and just; to justify it is to comply with the
Will of God, because it is so follow the Conduct of his Providence. And then
 in the Margin over against it, they cite *Hobbs, Owen, Baxter* and *Jenkins*;
 and in the next Impression I hope they will put your Name in that glorious
 Company, to shew the Sense of Mankind. I ground my Confidence, in
 this Appeal, upon Discourses which I, and others, have had with several
 worthy Members of the Convocation, who have been so free as to tell us
 that they could not be of your Opinion; nay some of them have told me
 frankly, that they abhorred your Principle, and could never have taken
 the Oath upon it: I believe you would be angry, with them should I tell
 you their Names; but I do not know why they may not contradict you,
 as well as you have contradicted the Bishop of *St. Asaph*; for, contrary to
 his Sermon, entituled *God's ways of disposing Kingdoms*, which he preached
 before the Queen, Your, in your *Past-Sermon* preached not long after, be-
 fore her, in *June*, the last year, and printed, as his was, by her *Majesties*
Special Command, tell us, That God doth not always determine what is right
 and wrong by the Events of War, for he is the Sovereign Judge of the World,
 and may often punish a wicked Nation, by unjust Oppressors, as he did the *Israelites*.
 The good Lord be merciful to the poor *Jacobites*, who are like never to be
 converted at this rate, when one of you so apparently contradicts another,
 and each part of the Contradiction hath Royal Authority on its side. I
 do not say that you designedly contradicted the Bishop, and I had almost
 said your self too, for that Proposition seems to look very foul upon your

P. 252. Doctrine of Providence, and almost needs an Explication; and in good Truth *Doctor*, the Sense of Mankind, and the natural Notions, are on the other side of the Controversy, and if you do not carefully prevent them, they will obtrude upon you, and carry you to contradict your self, as your Father *Hobs* did in his *History of the Civil Wars*, who before he was aware of it, run into the *Arbitrary* distinction betwixt Supream Strength and Right to govern: For to the Question, Who had the Supream Power when there was no Parliament? *If by Power* (saith he) *you mean the Right to Govern*, no Body had it; but if you mean the *Supream Strength*, that was clearly in *Cromwel*, who was obeyed as General of the Forces in *England, Scotland and Ireland*.

E. P. 32, 33. Here, *Doctor*, I stopt a little to review the Authorities I have brought against you; and I find, that as a Man who has many Witnelles at a Tryal, may forget to call some; so I have forgot two Testimonies against you, which I desire may be now heard speak. The first is the Testimony of the Judges and Peers in *Queen Mary's* time; and the second is that of the First Parliament of *William and Mary*. The former, at the Tryal of the Duke of *Northumberland*, made Answer to the Duke, Querying by way of Plea, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby Guilty of Treason? That the Great Seal of One that was not Lawful Queen, could give no Authority nor Indemnity to those that acted on such a Warrant. The latter, in several of their Acts, as in that for a Poll towards reducing *Ireland*, 1 Gul. & Mar. 1 May 1689. and that for the Relief of their Majesties Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, 1 Gul. & Mar. Jan. 27. 1689. declared the *Irish*, then under King *James's* Possession, and actual Government, to owe their Obedience to King *William*, and for breach thereof to be Rebels; though King *James* had been solemnly recognized by the Estates of the Realm.

But now, *Doctor*, after all these Testimonies against you, perhaps you will reply, that these are only Testimonies, as to the Sense, but not as to the Practice of Men; whereas you have Asserted the Reasonings of some among our selves, to be not only against the General Sense, but the General Practice of Mankind, in all Revolutions, and that this is apparently on your side: But if you, or any for you, object this against me, I pray you to consider, that the Practises of Men are to be tryed by Principles, and not Principles by the General Practises of men; for Mankind, *Doctor*, is a very corrupt Creature, apt to act against the most acknowledged Principles of Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil, which God has engraven on all men's hearts, as the Common Law, or Common Sense, or Common Notions of all mankind. And as they will act against these Common Notions, or the Law of Nature, so will they act against the Law of Grace, or the Notions of revealed Religion; more especially they will act against both in times of Persecution, when Ease, Safety, Honour, and Preferment, attend those who take part with Error against Truth, and Wrong against Right; and Danger, Trouble, Disgrace, and poverty, those

those who side with Truth against Error, and Right against Wrong. In such hard Cases, Doctor, few will choose the Suffering side; but the generality of men will act, not only against the general Sense of mankind, but against the inward Sense and Checks of their own Consciences; as in the idolatrous Reign of *Ahab*, when Idolatry was the general practise of the Jews; in the *Arrian* Reign of *Valens*, when the *Arrian* Doctrine denying Jesus to be true God, was the general profession, and *Arrian* Worship the general practise of Christians; in the Popish Reign of Queen *Mary*, when all the Clergy of the Church of *England*, but one hundred seventy seven, turn'd Papists after Popery was thoroughly settled by Parliament, and recognized by the Estates of the Realm, and so became the Providential Religion of the Church; so in the late *French* Persecution, the generality of Protestants, preferring Ease and Safety before a good Conscience, turn'd Converts to Popery against their own Faith and Principles; and as for those few which did not, the Bp. of *Meaux* might have told them, That they had nothing to support them but some uncertain Reasonings which contradict the general Practice of Mankind in all Revolutions of Religion. You see, Doctor, what a poor Argument the general Practice of mankind is in Revolutions, where the great majority will go with the Stream of Power and Pre-ferment: And therefore we are bid not to follow a multitude to doe Evil; but to stick to Principles against Men's Practices, and the Precepts of natural and revealed Religion against Men's Examples, be they never so many and great: For in truth, Doctor, few Men will doe their duty in any kind; and therefore there are but few that will be saved, especially in such an Age of latitude as this, wherein loose Principles make loose Practices; so that you will find very few Men of strict, or if you please, Doctor, of stupid and slavish *Verine*. In parthear, if you please to look about, I believe you will find almost as few Men of stupid and slavish Sobriety, or stupid and slavish Chastity, as of stupid and slavish Loyalty. Nay, if the general Complaints be true, there are but very few of stupid and slavish Justice and Honesty: For why should a Man of Honour (as the Cardinal said) be a Slave to his Word, or to his Oath either, especially of late, since we can hardly tell how to reconcile the eternal Misery of Hell with the Justice and Goodness of God, who, notwithstanding all his Threatenings of it in Scripture, is free to doe what he pleases. But this, Doctor, doth not belong to you, but to some of those Nine Men, who you told * us, not long before you took the Oath, had Latitude enough to conform to a Church de facto which had Power on its side, and Tenderness and Moderation enough to part with any thing but their Church Preferments. When you were at the Writing of that Letter, † the A. Bp. and other Bishops and Clergymen under Suspension, were as eminent for a prudent and well tempered Zeal, as for their constant Loyalty; but now their well tempered Zeal, though not one degree altered from its Temper, is factious, and their constant Loyalty stupid and slavish Allegiance, and what else you will hereafter be pleased to call it or them.

Sir Simon Deth's
Journal, p. 23.

Dr. Tillotson's
Serm. of Hell-
Torments.

* In a Letter to a Friend, containing some Queries about the New Commission for making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c. of the Church of England; sent to the Press by Dr. Sherlock, and published a little before the first Siring of the Convocation. † p. 3.

P. 252.

Doctrine of Providence, and almost needs an Explication; and in good Truth *Doctor*, the Sense of Mankind, and the natural Notions, are on the other side of the Controversy, and if you do not carefully prevent them, they will obtrude upon you, and carry you to contradict your self, as your Father *Hobbs* did in his *History of the Civil Wars*, who before he was aware of it, run into the *Arbitrary* distinction betwixt Supream Strength and Right to govern: For to the Question, Who had the Supream Power when there was no Parliament? *If by Power* (saith he) *you mean the Right to Govern*, no Body had it; but if you mean the *Supream Strength*, that was clearly in *Cromwel*, who was obeyed as General of the Forces in *England, Scotland and Ireland*.

c. P. 32, 33.

Here, *Doctor*, I stopt a little to review the Authorities I have brought against you; and I find, that as a Man who has many Witnesses at a Tryal, may forget to call some; so I have forgot two Testimonies against you, which I desire may be now heard speak. The first is the Testimony of the Judges and Peers in *Queen Mary's* time; and the second is that of the First Parliament of *William and Mary*. The former, at the Tryal of the Duke of *Northumberland*, made Answer to the Duke, Querying by way of Plea, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby Guilty of Treason? That the Great Seal of One that was not Lawful *Queen*, could give no Authority nor Indemnity to those that acted on such a Warrant. The latter, in several of their Acts, as in that for a *Poll towards reducing Ireland*, 1 Gul. & Mar. 1 May 1689. and that for the *Relief of their Majesties Protestant Subjects in Ireland*, 1 Gul. & Mar. Jan. 27. 1689. declared the *Irish*, then under *King James'* Possession, and actual Government, to owe their Obedience to *King William*, and for breach thereof to be Rebels; though *King James* had been solemnly recognized by the Estates of the Realm.

But now, *Doctor*, after all these Testimonies against you, perhaps you will reply, that these are only Testimonies, as to the *Sense*, but not as to the *Practise of Men*; whereas you have Asserted the *Reasonings of some among our selves*, to be not only against the General Sense, but the General Practise of Mankind, in all Revolutions, and that this is apparently on your side: But if you, or any for you, object this against me, I pray you to consider, that the Practises of Men are to be tried by Principles, and not Principles by the General Practises of men; for Mankind, *Doctor*, is a very corrupt Creature, apt to act against the most acknowledged Principles of *Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil*, which God has engraven on all men's hearts, as the Common Law, or Common Sense, or Common Notions of all mankind. And as they will act against these Common Notions, or the Law of Nature, so will they act against the Law of Grace, or the Notions of revealed Religion; more especially they will act against both in times of Persecution, when Ease, Safety, Honour, and Preferment, attend those who take part with Error against Truth, and Wrong against Right; and Danger, Trouble, Disgrace, and poverty, those

those who side with Truth against Error, and Right against Wrong. In such hard Cases, *Doctor*, few will choose the Suffering side; but the generality of men will act, not only against the general Sense of mankind, but against the inward Sense and Checks of their own Consciences; as in the Idolatrous Reign of *Ahab*, when Idolatry was the general practise of the Jews; in the *Arrian* Reign of *Valens*, when the *Arrian* Doctrine denying *Jesus* to be true God, was the general profession, and *Arrian* Worship the general practise of Christians; in the Popish Reign of Queen *Mary*, when all the Clergy of the Church of *England*, but one hundred seventy seven, turn'd Papists after Popery was thoroughly settled by Parliament, and recognized by the Estates of the Realm, and so became the Providential Religion of the Church; so in the late *French* Persecution, the generality of Protestants, preferring Ease and Safety before a good Conscience, turn'd Converts to Popery against their own Faith and Principles; and as for those few which did not, the Bp. of *Meaux* might have told them, That they had nothing to support them but some uncertain Reasonings which contradict the general Practice of Mankind in all Revolutions of Religion. You see, Doctor, what a poor Argument the general Practice of mankind is in Revolutions, where the great majority will go with the Stream of Power and Preference: And therefore we are bid not to follow a multitude to doe Evil; but to stick to Principles against Men's Practices, and the Precepts of natural and revealed Religion against Men's Examples, be they never so many and great: For in truth, Doctor, few Men will doe their duty in any kind; and therefore there are but few that will be saved, especially in such an Age of latitude as this, wherein loose Principles make loose Practices; so that you will find very few Men of strict, or if you please, Doctor, of stupid and slavish Verine. In particular, if you please to look about, I believe you will find almost as few men of stupid and slavish Sobriety, or stupid and slavish Chastity, as of stupid and slavish Loyalty. Nay, if the general Complaints be true, there are but very few of stupid and slavish Justice and Honesty: For why should a Man of Honour (as the Cardinal said) be a Slave to his Word, or to his Oath either, especially of late, since we can hardly tell how to reconcile the eternal Misery of Hell with the Justice and Goodness of God, who, notwithstanding all his Threatenings of it in Scripture, is free to doe what he pleases. But this, Doctor, doth not belong to you, but to some of those Nine Men, who you told

* us, not long before you took the Oath, had Latitude enough to conform to a Church de facto which had Power on its side, and Tenderness and Moderation enough to part with any thing but their Church Preferments. When you were at the Writing of that Letter, the A. Bp. and other Bishops and Clergymen under Suspension, were as eminent for a prudent and well tempered Zeal, as for their constant Loyalty; but now their well tempered Zeal, though not one degree altered from its Temper, is fallow, and their constant Loyalty stupid and slavish Allegiance, and what else you will hereafter be pleased to call it or them.

Sir Simon Dru's
Journal, p. 23.

Dr. Tillotson's
Serm. of Hell-
Torments.

* In a Letter to a Friend, containing some Queries about the New Commission for making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c. of the Church of England; sent to the Press by Dr. Sherlock, and published a little before the first Sitting of the Convocation. † p. 5.

13. Having now, I hope, vindicated the Opinions and Reasonings of some among our selves from Singularity and Novelty, by shewing that they do not contradict the general Sense of Mankind, but are the very Sense of the wisest and best part of it; I come now to examine what you say, for I cannot call what you say Arguments against them, who, as you tell the World, *withdraw* from our Communion, because we pray for *R. William* and *Q. Mary*: but they say, and I fear are able to prove it too, that it is you that have withdrawn from them and their Communion, and that the Schism, and the causes of it, is in you and not in them. But to let that pass, you assert that *St. Paul*, in your Text, *makes no difference of Kings*, but that *they* do; but I tell you, Sir, that they make as little difference as *St. Paul*, for they grant that he commands us to pray for all Kings; but then they say that the Usurpers of Kingdoms, as long as they remain so, are not Kings, nor within the Intention of your Text. But you tell us, *they* say, That *St. Paul* means only *Lawful and Rightful Kings*; it is true, they do say so; but then they also say, that there are no Kings but what are *Lawful* or have the *Legal Right*, and that all others exercising the *Kingly Power* in any Kingdom, against Law, are onely called *Kings*, as *Idols* are called *Idols*, but are not true Kings. You tell us again, *the Commandment is general to pray for Kings*; and they say so too: but then they tell you that this doth not bind them to pray for Usurpers, who call themselves Kings, and are so called by those who set them up against Law, but are not so. But then you think you ask them a very confounding Question, though they have answered it an hundred times before, (*viz.*) Whether there is any such Distinction as this in Scripture, that we must not pray for all Kings, but onely for *Legal Kings*? To this they answer, that all Kings in the nature of the thing, and in Scripture intendment, are *Legal Kings*; as all Husbands and Wives, in the sense of the Scriptures, are *Husbands* and *Wives* by *lawful Wedlock*: though an Adulterer may sometimes usurp the Name of a Husband, as did the pretended Husband of the *Samaritan Woman*, whom our Saviour told her for that reason was not her Husband. And as the Duty of Wives to their Husbands, commanded by the Apostle, is in no danger, by asserting that they must not be subject to any but *Rightful Husbands*: So neither, to answer your trifling Question, are *Subjects* in any danger of being delivered from the Duty, in your Text, of *praying for Kings*, by teaching that we must pray for none but *lawful Kings*. But then you tell us, that this distinction of *lawful Kings*, from Kings that are not *lawful* * is Arbitrary, and that it hath no † *solid Foundation in Reason and Nature*; but they have told you over and over, that it is a Real and no Arbitrary distinction, founded upon the common Notions of *Right and Wrong*, *Truth and Falshood*; and that it is a distinction not of a thing from it self (which is Arbitrary) but of a thing from what it is not; and that it is as necessary for Subjects to make this distinction between Kings, as for Children and Wives to distinguish betwixt *lawful* and *unlawful* Husbands and Fathers; or Clergy-men to distinguish between *Canonical* and *Uncanonical* Bishops; or to distinguish in Religion between the true God and *Idols*, who

* P. 17.

† P. 20.

are worshipped in the stile of Gods. And therefore to come to your *Latria* and *Dulia*, to which you foolishly compare this distinction, they return it upon you, and say, that the Scriptures appropriate the Allegiance of Subjects, of which praying is a part, to lawful Kings; but that you are more than a Papist in Politicks, because you are for giving away not only *Dulia*, or half Allegiance, but *Latria*, or the whole Allegiance, from True to Idol-Kings. And then as for *avoiding the Duty of the Fifth Commandment by the Pom-Curban*, which you misapply to them, that returns upon your self: for they have shew'd you again and again, in their Answers, that that Commandment directs the Duty of is to true and lawful both natural and civil Parents, and have made it appear that you are one of the *Pharisees*, who have endeavoured to make that and other Commandments of none effect, by giving the Name of Kings to pure Providential Usurpers, though they are no more Kings by possessing the lawful Kings Throne, than Idols are Gods, by possessing the Temple of the true God. Idols have all the Ensigns of Divinity, as you say the other have of Majesty, and by God's own Providence come to be invested with all the Religious Rights and Ceremonies of the true God, and often happen to be worshipped and recognized for Gods by the People and Estates of Idolatrous Realms; but for all that they are but abominable Idols, that ought to be thrown down, and broken in pieces; and the more cursed and abominable by how much the more their Worship is like that of the true God. But you tell us, that *there is Reason to conclude that St. Paul spoke of such Kings*, [i.e. of Kings that were set up by the Estates and People, without legal Title,] *if we will allow that he spoke the language of the Age wherein he lived*. To which I answer, That neither the Language of that Age, nor any Age before or since the Apostle wrote, ever meant *such Kings*, whenever they spoke of Subjects duty in Praying for Kings; and that when the Apostle wrote, the *Roman Powers*, or King or Emperour then in being, was a Lawful as well as a Providential King; and that therefore he is to be understood onely of lawful Kings. But you on the contrary assert, That *he wrote in a time of most violent Usurpation*, when he had re ason to distinguish between lawful Kings, and such as were not lawful; but no Man of less Forehead and Conscience than your self would have asserted, it after the contrary had been so fully proved against you: Indeed, had the Emperour, when the Apostle wrote, been an Usurper, you had said something to purpose; but this you cannot prove, and therefore you only say it: But had it been true, you might easily have proved it, by shewing who was the claiming injured Party, and to whom the Empire belonged by Law, and whose Right that unlawful Emperour did usurp. No body will deny but that the Apostle wrote his Epistle to the *Romans*, and his first Epistle to *Timothy*, in the Reigns of *Caligula*, *Claudius* or *Nero*. But to pass over the *Roman Historians*, to which your Answerers appeal to prove they were no Usurpers, I will here prove from the *Roman Coins* that they were lawful Princes, upon whom the Senate and People of the Common-Wealth of *Rome* had conferred the Sovereign Authority, as *Authority*, signifies Right as well as Power. Now to prove this I must advert-

p. 14.

Ibid.

p. 18.

p. 20.

tise you, if you did not know it before, that all Coines in which we find
 † *Supperunt plane quem plurima ut he lteris. S. C. que in Aereis Nummis Romanorum, & in Argentis nummulis leguntur E. X. S. C. que Senatoris Consulatus Auctoritate Cufos significant.* Anton August. Dialog. 1.

† S. C. or EXS. C. as also S. P. Q. R. shew that they were coined by the special Order, and Authority of the Senate: And as to their Inscriptions and Devices, were not left to Discretion of *Triumviri monetales*, or Masters of the Mint. Therefore all such Coines, as learned Medallists observe, are of greater Authority than any Private Historians, as being so many Publick Acts of the Senate, by which they gave as well as declared the Powers which are read in the Inscriptions of such Coines. I will begin with *Caligula*, of whom there are many such *Senatorial* Coines, which on the Front or R of them have S. C. or EXS. C. or S. P. Q. R. with all his Sovereign Imperial Titles. Of the former sort are these, which about his Head bear the following Inscriptions, CAIUS CAESAR AUG. GERMANICUS PON. MAX. TR. P. S. C. and CAIUS CAESAR DIVI AUG. PRON. AUG. P. M. TR. POT. III. P. P. S. C. Of the latter sort are those which have the forefaid Titles on the Front, and S. C. or S. P. Q. R. on the RR: as that which within an oken Crown, or *Corona Civica*, hath inscribed S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob. C. S. So that hath S. C. on the R in which are stamped the Heads of his three Sisters, *Agripina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livia*. The R of another bearing the former Titles hath the Temple which he dedicated to *Augustus*, with S. on one side of it, and C. on the other. And there is another curious piece extant, which hath the Head of *Agripina* surrounded with this Inscription AGRIPPINAM. F. MAT. C. CAESARIS AUG. and on the Reverse a *Tenfa* drawn by two Mules, and this Inscription, S. P. Q. R. MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE.

Then for *Claudius* there is a Coin which hath this Inscription about his Head, TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. S. C. Another hath this Inscription about his Image, TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR. AUG. and on R P. M. TR. P. IMP. COS. II. S. C. Another hath this Inscription about his Image, T. CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. and on R SPES AUGUSTA. S. C. Another about the Head of his Mother hath ANTONIA AUGUSTA and on R TITUS CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG. P. M. S. C. On the R of another bearing his Imperial Titles, there is within an Oken Crown EXSC. OB CIVES SERVATOS. On R of another, within an Oken Crown, S. P. Q. R. P. P. OB C. S. Another R hath CONSTANTINE AUGUSTI S. C. Another SPES AUGUSTA S. C. And another R in which is stamped the Emperor and the Praetorian Signifer PRAETOR RECEPT. S. C.

Lastly for *Nero*. There is one with an Oken Crown bearing this Inscription about it, NERONI CLAUD. DIVI. F. CAES. AUG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. and within it EXS. C. and on R AGRIPPINA AUG. DIVI. CLAUD. NERONIS. CAES. MAT. about the Heads of *Nero* and *Agripina*, looking one upon another. Another with *Nero* CLAUD. CAES. AUG. GERM. and on the R AGRIPPINA AUG. DIVI. CLAUD. NERONIS. CAES. MAT. about the Heads of *Nero* and *Agripina*, looking one upon another. Another with *Nero* CLAUD. CAES. AUG. GERM. and on the R AGRIPPINA AUG. DIVI. CLAUD. NERONIS. CAES. MAT. about the Heads of *Nero* and *Agripina*, looking one upon another. Another with *Nero* CLAUD. CAES. AUG. GERM. and on the R AGRIPPINA AUG. DIVI. CLAUD. NERONIS. CAES. MAT. about the Heads of *Nero* and *Agripina*, looking one upon another.

NERO CAES. AUG. IMP. about his Image, and on R. PONT. MAX. TR. P. about an Oak Crown, and in it EX. S. C. And as for the RR. on this Emperours Coines, one hath PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. V. P. P. EX. S. C. another hath PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VII. COS. III. P. P. EX. S. C. Another PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. X. COS. III. P. P. EX. S. C. Another a *Pomiana Armata*, with a *Victoriola* on her hand, EX. S. C. Another under a triumphant Arch SC. And these Coines prove as plainly, that these Emperours were lawful and rightful Emperours, as that of *Pompey* proves him to have been the lawful Admiral of *Rome*, which hath this Inscription, POMPEIUS MAGNUS PRÆFECT. CLAS. ET ORAE MARITIMAE, which Office he bore, as Historians shew us, in the Piratical War. And now, Doctor, as I have shewn from these Coines, that that Emperor, whoever he was, under whom St. Paul wrote, was a lawful Emperor, or rightful Possessor of the Imperial Power; so let me ask you one Question: Is it needful that I should distinguish here betwixt true and counterfeit Coines, or not? If not, then it was much less needful for the Apostle to distinguish between *lawful Kings* and Kings that were not lawful, because he wrote under a lawful King, that had no Competitor at home or abroad to claim or prosecute his Right against him: But because there are many Cавans or counterfeit Coines, I here distinguish between them; though I think I need not, and tell you, that I have made use of none but true Coines: But if you suspect me, you may borrow a litte from the Bp. of St. Asaph, as you did a litte * Chronology about *Jaddai* from him, and he'll help you out in both alike. And in the meantime, Doctor, take this with you, That your *pure Providential King* in Policy, are no better than counterfeit Medals in Antiquity, or *Bristol Stones* among Diamonds; they shew and glister like Kings, but are not Kings, but Usurpers: And the distinction between them and Kings, by the help of the Word *lawful or unlawful*, is as real and natural as that of the Nummists between real and forged Medals, or that of the Jewellers between true and false Diamonds, or that of all the World between true and counterfeit Silver and Gold. It is the Appearance of Things without Reality that is the Ground of this distinction; and to discover real from apparent, true from false, and right from wrong in the moral and natural World, makes these distinctions useful, that otherwise would be useless; and when Authors do not use them in speaking of Things, they are supposed to speak of *well, true*, and right things of every kind, and not of things of another Nature; that for some shew, likeness, or false Pretensions, are called by their Names. You think you speak finely, when you say it is matter of *Sense* to know who is King, because a Man may see who administers the Government by Regal Authority. But if it be matter of *Sense*, Doctor, how came you to lose your Senses so long? And what made you so blind that you could not see it when other Men did? This shews, Doctor, that it is not matter of *Sense*; but of *Reason*: for Sense can only perceive the supream external Force that is admitted in any Kingdom; but to discern the Right or Authority to exercise the supream Force or Power which makes a King, is the work of Reason; because Authority is a *moral Quality*, as hath been * excellently proved to

* See the learned Answer to the Bishop, aza.

p. 18. you, of which Reason and Conscience is Judge. O but then, say you, it must be a *matter of Wit, or Law, or Philosophy, to know who is King*. It is so, Doctor; but of no more Wit, Law, and Philosophy, than every common Understanding hath; and no more than is needful to know who is

Entitled, The Resurrection of Loyalty and Obedience out of the Grave of Rebellion, by the sacred Force of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. Painted for Will. Shears in Bedford-Street near Covent-Garden, at the blue Bible, and inscribed to Gen. Monk.

Husband, or Master of any Family, or Parson of any Parish, or Mayor of any Corporation. *The World knows (saith an excellent little Book) who it is that the Law and Customs of this Nation states to be the Heir and Successor of the King, even the eldest Son of the Predecessor.* In truth, Doctor, there is no difficulty in it; there is not a Countrey Fellow in any Kingdom but knows by what Title the Crown is held; and in an hereditary Kingdom there is no great need

of Wit, or Law, or Philosophy, to know the Royal Family, and the next Heir in it. But you have had enough of this in your learned Answerers; and none but a Man that is desperate, and past blushing, would preach the same Stuff again, especially before such an Audience, when he knew he could not defend what he said. But you tell us, *you will not dispute the Matter*; and the Reason is plain, because you cannot dispute it, though you are one of the Disputers of this World, your Adversaries having put the Controversie beyond all reasonable Dispute. But if you will not dispute it, why should you meddle any more with it? Or is it because you are a great Man, and a great Rabbi, that ought not to dispute with such *little Writers*?

p. 19. 14. Well; but though you will not dispute them, yet you'll vouchsafe to chatechise them, and ask them some hard Questions about *Certainty*. And before I answer for them, I must beg leave, Doctor, tho' of late you do not love distinctions, to distinguish about *Certainty*, and I hope it is no arbitrary distinction, that hath no Foundation in Reason and Nature. *Certainty* then, Doctor, is of two sorts, *absolute*, of which no doubt can possibly be made, and against which there lies no Objection; or *such*, which though it be not free from all doubts and Objections; yet it is such as the nature of the Thing will bear, and such as command a firm assent of the Mind, without doubting of the truth of what it believes. The first is a Mathematical or Metaphysical Certainty, and with this absolute, mathematical, and metaphysical Certainty, you, and I, and all the World, are sure that *two and two make four*, and that *a thing cannot be and not be at the same time*. The second is *moral Certainty*, which results from Reasons on one side in every Matter and Question, that visibly preponderate the Reasons on the other, and so commands the Assent of a Man's Understanding, that he hath either no doubt, or very weak ones, of the truth of the thing which he believes. This indeed is a sort of Certainty inferior to the other; but yet such a one as you, and I, and all Men, have of most of the things of which we are certain, as that there was such a Man as *Adams*; and upon this sort of Certainty, and no other, we make no doubt of venturing our Lives and Estates in this World, and our Souls in the next. I presume, Doctor, you will allow this for a good distinction; and if you do, then, with submission, I must ask you, Which Certainty do you mean in the Questions you have

put

put to *these Men*. I dare say you do not mean the former, for some ill Consequences I need not mention; but if the latter, then Dr. for once permit one of the *little Writers* to shew you the Folly and Vanity of this way of arguing in Questions about Certainty, from a few Questions of the same Nature. Are you certain then, that your Text is the Words of St. Paul, or that they were written by divine Inspiration? Are you certain that there are three Persons in the holy Trinity? That there is such a Continent as *America*? Or, to jest and argue together, are you certain that your Priests Orders are valid, that your Marriage with your incomparable Lady was lawful, or that your Children are your own? The answering these Questions, Dr. will help to convince you, to what little purpose you put so many of the same nature about Certainty; however I will answer them in order.

To the first then, *they say*, that they are as certain that by all Powers, *Rom. 13. 1.* the Apostle only means such as have legal Right and Title to Power, as they are that he expressly teaches, that *all Power is of God*. But, 2. They also say, that tho' they were not so certain, which is not necessary; yet they are so certain of it, as that they make no doubt of it, and venture *their All*, here and hereafter, upon the truth of it. Your second Question, *they say*, agrees not with your first, nor with the design of your Sermon: For when you ask them whether they are as certain that it is *unlawful* to pray for Kings *legally invested*, &c. as they are that the Apostle commands us to pray for Kings; they say, that according to your *Hypothesis* the question ought to be put of Kings *illegally invested* with the *Royal Power*; and then they answer, that illegal Kings cannot be legally invested, and as certain that it is as *unlawful* to pray for illegal Kings, as they are that the Apostle commands us to pray for Kings; and *all that are in Authority*; and likewise add, as before to the Answer of the first Question. In your third *they observe*, that you call the *lawful King's Right* a *supposed Right*, whereas the *providential King's Right* is *merely so*; but the *lawful King* out of Possession hath, according to your state of the Controversie, a *real Right* to possess, and to recover Possession if he can; and therefore if they could wonder at you for any thing, they say they should wonder why you call it a *supposed Right*: And in order to answer the question, as they are a distinguishing sort of Men; so they distinguish about *Estates of the Realm*, and *they say* they are of three sorts: 1. *Estates that are always free*. 2. *Estates that are sometimes free*. And, 3. *Estates that are never free*. The first are *Sovereign Estates*, as the *Estates of Rome* formerly were, and those of *Venice* now are, in whom the Supreme Authority is lodged, and all Persons in their Dominions are subject to them, and they are subject unto none. The second are the *Estates of Elective Kingdoms*, where there is an *Interregnum* of Freedom to chuse a new King in, as in *Poland*, and some other Kingdoms. And the third are the *Estates of Hereditary Kingdoms*, where by Law there is no *Interregnum*, but the last moment of one King's Reign is the first of another, and where by consequence all Ranks and Orders of Men are constantly subject, even as constantly as if they had but one immortal, or never dying King. This distinction being premised, they answer in *Thesis*, that they are certain that it is the Duty of Subjects to adhere to the legal Right, and him that hath it, in opposition to an unlawful King, put into the Throne by subject and unfree Estates, that have no Authority, Right, or Liberty to make Kings, because the Law hath always Kings ready made for them, to whom they ought to be subject. I say they are certain, nay, as certain that it is the:

the Duty of Subjects, whatever they suffer by it, to adhere to the legal Right in such a Case, as they are that it is our duty to pray for Kings. And then to your last Question they answer, that they are as certain that the *Roman Powers* or Emperors were legal and rightful Powers, when the Apostle wrote, *as* that he commanded the Christians to be subject to them, and pray for them: For they were placed in the Throne by free Estates, who had Authority to place them there; but you, more like a Sophister than a Preacher of Truth, take no notice of this plain distinction, as if the Estates of all Kingdoms were alike free and Sovereign: *These Men*, say you, (p. 18.) *will pray for no Kings unless they be legal Kings, tho' they have all the Ensigns of Majesty, and are invested with the legal Authority and Power, with all the legal and customary Rights and Solemnities of Investiture, and are acknowledged and recognized by the Estates of the Realm.* These are fine words, Dr. but did you never hear of Realms where Kings are Kings without any Ensigns of Majesty, before the Solemnitie of Coronation; of Realms where the King, *quatenus* King, never dyeth, and by consequence where the Estates are always subject to the King, and have no *Interregnum* of Freedom; of Realms where for the aforesaid Reason the King is said to demise when he departs this Life, and where the King is crowned because he is King, and not King because he is crowned? Fie, Dr. fie; I am ashamed of your Ignorance, if you have lived among Lawyers so long, and not know these things, or of something worse than that, if you knew them, and suppress them because they did not suit with your Providential Scheme.

I have now, Dr. answered your Questions plainly, and perhaps more plainly than you desired; but to shew you and the *Worshipful Bench* how much you dare impose upon them, I must ask you the same questions, the same *proper questions about degrees of Evidence* and Certitude, (p. 20.) Come therefore, Dr. sublime, seraphick, irrefragable Dr. for once vouchsafe to answer a poor little *Writer*, who humbly desires to know, 1. Whether you are as certain, that by all Powers *Rom. 13. 1.* the Apostle means Powers that have no legal Right and Title, as well as Powers that have legal Right and Title and prosecute that Right, as you are that he expressly teaches *that all Power is of God?* 2. Whether you are as certain that it is lawful to pray for *unlawful Kings*, who have no legal Right to the Power which they exercise, as you are that the Apostle commands us to pray for *Kings, and all that are in Authority?* 3. Whether you are as certain that it is the Subjects duty to adhere to a supposed Providential Right, against the Laws of the Realm, and in opposition to the *lawful King*, and his Right, as you are that it is our duty to pray for *Kings?* 4. Are you as certain that the *Roman Powers*, when the Apostles wrote, were illegal and usurping Powers, which you affirm, as you are that *St. Paul* commanded Christians to be *subject to them, and to pray for them?* These, Dr. are your own Questions, and doubts: I can answer them better than any other Man; but when you think fit to do so, let me entreat you not to perplex the Controversie of *Right and legal Right*, with the Word *antecedent*, as you have done in your Sermon 4 or 5 times, merely to amuse your Readers, and fill them with Prejudice against *these Men*; as if they would own no Man for King, but such as comes to the Administration of the Sovereign Power with an *antecedent Right*. But this, Dr. is a great, and I fear a wilful mistake of yours; for provided that he that hath the actual Administration of Government hath a legal Right to it, it is all one to them whether it be an *antecedent, concomitant,*

or consequent Right; Right, or legal Right is the thing that they look after in him that hath the Sovereign Power, and that alone which can lay the Obligation of Obedience upon Men's Consciences, and command Subjection from them. Sovereign Power, how providentially soever it is attained, is but Sovereign Force and Tyranny without it, and to speak in logical Strictness, King is a name of Law and Right; and as soon as a Man hath the Right which the Law gives to Sovereign Power, he is King; and King no sooner than he hath that Right.

I have now answered every thing in your Sermon relating to the Controversie concerning Kings, and I here declare that I have onely defended the Principles and Reasonings of your Adversaries against you; but if they be mistaken in Law, and misapply them and this to the wrong Object, let them answer themselves for their Mistake. My design and business is only to rescue your Text, and that in *Rom. 13. 1.* and the Duties there commanded, from the mere *Providential* to the *Legal King*; but if those Men have so little *Wisdom, Law, or Philosophy*, nay, so little common Sense, as of two Pretenders to the Crown at any time, not to know which hath the legal Title, their Mistake may prove fatal, but I have nothing to doe with that. I am sure, Dr. you have done their Majesties much Disservice by awarding the legal Right from them, and giving them instead of it, an airy Title by *Providence*, which *Abuliah, Absalom, and Cromwel* had, and every prosperous Usurper can pretend to: and I am confident had they been rightly informed of the nature of your Principle; and of that loose and fickle, and worthless Allegiance which Princes only get by it, they would have had your *Catechism of Allegiance* censured, as it deserves, and instead of preferring you, had punished you as the underminer of their Throne. I am certain had you wrote and preached so in any of the former Protestant Reigns, you would have been severely censured, and punished by the Laws of Church and State; and if, as you tell us, the Revolution hath made no Alteration in Government, it is not yet too late to bring you to condign Punishment.

¶ 15. I thought I should have made an end, but finding some other Passages in your Sermon, upon which the Reader may expect I should make some Reflections. I cannot well pass them over. First then I cannot but animadvert upon the great and undecent Liberty you take of speaking of the *FRENCH KING*, in this, and almost all your Sermons; whereas in *France* that Antichristian Tyrant, as you modestly call him, will not suffer the greatest of his Clergy to bring so much as a railing Accusation against their Majesties, or meddle with their Administration, as you, and the Bp. of *St. Asaph*, and I know not how many more, presume to do with his. But who made you Judges over him? He is God's Minister, and God's anointed Servant, and who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant? To his own Master he standeth or falleth. And what have you to doe to impeach him of Tyranny, Persecution, and Oppression? Do you know the reasons of his Actions, or can you tell what may be said to justify or excuse the worst thing that he ever did? You told Dr. *Burnet* at *Ely-house*, when he spoke reproachfully of *King James*, that *Crowned Heads* ought not to be so treated; but now, Dr. you make no difficulty of treating the greatest of *Crowned Heads* at a much worse rate, tho' he is God's ordinance on a double account, both as a Legal and Providential King. One would think, to read in what a lofty and insolent manner you speak of him, that you were your self *IMP. PON. MAX.* or some great Prophet, that had received Commission from Heaven to arraign Kings. Certainly there is something very extraordinary in you, something very di-

vine, or very diabolical, that of late you have a Mouth given you speaking Blasphemies against Kings, and against a King who has as many and great Virtues as any King in the World, * *Persecutor, Oppressor, Enslaver of Mens Bodies and Souls, Tyrant, and antichristian Tyrant.* This, Dr. sounds like the *Language of the Beast*, not of a Minister of the Church of England; it runs in the Style of an Excommunication Bull; and as you are as great as the Pope in your own Opinion, so you have learnt to huff and hector Kings: But, what! are you thus to take upon you? You who but the other day were digging in *Gravel-lane* for Bread, to what an height are you come from almost nothing, and a Conventicle, to defie Crowned Heads! But we know from whence all this comes, even from a most servile Spirit, that cares not what it saith or doth, so it humor the Times, and please the People: Of this no man hath been more guilty than you, and I will give you and the World an instance of it. Sometimes Liberty and Indulgence to Dissenters were in vogue, and sometimes not; and accordingly you watcht the Opportunities, and wrote *pro* and *con* on it on both sides: You were for it in your Preface to your *Religious Assemblies*, and you were against it in your Answer to *Whitby*, and your *Reflections upon the Plot*; but for it again in your Sermon before the *Ld. Mayor*, a little before the Revolution; and I doubt not but another *Crisis* would make you once more against it. From this *Time-serving* and *Self-seeking Principle* it comes, that the *French K.* is made the common place of Satyr in your and other such Clergy-mens Sermons. He hath taken the part of *K. James*, and that makes him so great a Tyrant; but had he been against him, and the Confederate Power for him, then they had been the Tyrants and Oppressors; and he that is now a *Nero*, a *Dioclesian*, had then been a most excellent Prince. How many Declamations had Dr. *Sherlock* by this time made for him, and against them, if he had been our Allie, and his victorious Legions employed in our Service? Then we had heard again from the Pulpits the old *Philippicks* against *Spain*, and the *Inquisition*; the Pulpits would have rung then with *Invectives* against the Pope, the Emperor, and the *Hungarian Persecutions*; and we should have been told again of *Amboyna*, and all the *Injuries* and *Insults* of the *Dutch*: But as the Case now stands, nothing must be said against them; the *French K.* is the only *Antichrist*, and all the *Tyrants* in *Europe*, a very *Devil* in humane shape. Well, Dr. you know many men have made Speeches in praise of the *Plague*, and *Famine*, and *Tyrants*, and therefore for once let us defend a *Paradox*, and try what may be said for *Bustiris*, or rather for the *Hercules of France*. You tell us he invades the *Liberties* of *Europe*; but I protest that is News to me, for I never heard before that he made War with *Europe*. *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and *Russia*, as I take it, are all in *Europe*; but I hear them not complain of him for usurping on their Liberties, or pretend to have any *Reprisals* to make upon him. Besides, Dr. I am not able to understand what are the *Liberties* of *Europe*, and desire to know where they are, or in what Code or *Charter* one may find them. If *Europe* have any Liberties, it must be a Community; but I never read of the Community of *Europe*, tho' I have of that of *Asia*, (which was a Community of 13 Cities in the *Proconsular Asia*,) both in *Books* and *Coins*. The Community of *Asia* coined a fine new Medal to the memory of *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, which on the Reverse within a *Lawrel Crown* hath *KONOV AEIAS*; and they also coined Medals in memory of a Temple which they consecrated to *Rome* and *Augustus*, with

COM on one side of the Temple, and ASIAE on the other ; but I never read of any thing done by the Community of *Europe*, and would be glad to be informed what the Nature and Constitution of it is, where it holds its *Dyets*, when it chuses the *Europarcha*, and in what place its Members or their Deputies meet : But it may be, Doctor, by the Liberties of *Europe* you mean those of the *Confederate Part of Europe* ; and if you do, then, excepting our own Countrey, I pray tell me where the People live better, or enjoy greater Liberties than they do in *France*. In *France* truly the common People go in wooden Shoes, and in most of the foreign Confederate Countries they have the Liberty to go barefoot ; in *France* they have whole *Cynvass*, or other mean Cloathing, and in many of the Confederate Countries they are half naked ; and if indeed King *Lewis* were such an Oppressour of Liberties, then the Common People, and Burghers, and Clergy of the *Spanish Netherlands* would not so favour him, and desire to come under his Government, as we are informed they do : The *Spanish* Clergy underhand commend him to their People, and the Clergy and learned men of his own Kingdom admire him ; and this shews at least that he is good to the Clergy, and maintains their Privileges and Revenues ; and that, Doctor, I tell you is maintaining our Religion in their Style as well as ours. You blame him also for destroying and extirpating his Protestant Subjects ; but would you blame him if he did it because they had a design to destroy and extirpate him ? You formerly said in one of your Sermons, that *If the Consciences of Subjects will serve them to rebell for Religion, it seems a very hard Case, if the Conscience of the Prince must not allow him to hang them for their Rebellion*. And so, Sir, if the Consciences of Subjects will serve them to extirpate their King ; it is very hard, if he comes to the knowledge of it, that he may not be beforehand with them, and extirpate them. The *French King* is no stranger to the Civil Wars of *France*, he knew what Principles and Persons had been the cause of most of them ; and as sensible as he is of his own Greatness, yet he knew he was not a Match to Confederate Enemies without, and Rebels within, at the same time : Wherefore he thought it for the safety of his Crown and Kingdoms to send the Trumpeters of Rebellion betimes out of his Kingdom, who since have solicited all the Princes of *Europe* against him, and plainly shewn, that if they did not know what Spirit they were of, he did. I must here beg pardon, O ye humble and holy Souls of *Ramus*, *Charpentier*, *Moulin*, *Amyraut*, and *Bonchart* ! You indeed were not fighting Evangelists ; but there were few such as you in times past, and fewer of late among the *French Protestants*, who would prefer the Cross before the Sword. The Attempt and Actions of some of them this Summer have justified their King, and discovered the Secret of his Severity against them, as Monsieur *Louvois* did some time since to an *English Lord*, to whom he appointed a time on purpose to discourse on that Subject, and then assured him that his Master had discovered a dangerous Correspondence betwixt his Protestant Subjects and the *Dutch*, and that to prevent the ill Consequences of it, had once clapt up a hasty Peace with them, and found he could not

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the Discovery
of the late
Plot, p. 15.

be safe in the next War, whenever that should happen, unless he first subdued them. The Conversation we have had with them doth confirm this Opinion of their King; they are generally known to be for the cursed

* The Author of a Book, entitled, *Traité du Pouvoir absolu des Princes Souverains*, &c.

† The Title of the Book is, *Reflexions sur les Cinq Livres de Moysé*. It was printed at London, 1697. But the Dedication of it bears date Dec. 12. 1686. In that he declares, that the Favours which his Majesty had done to those of their Nation, who sought for *Repos* under the shadow of his Scythe, were so great, and the Manner in which his Majesty had signalized his Compassion towards them, had had such Effect on the Spirits of his Subjects, that all the World ought to abhor them, if they had not a lively sense of his Benefits, and did not endeavour to signalize an Eternal Gratitude to him. Then he proceeds to make a solemn Protestation in his own name, and the name of his suffering Countrymen, of a profound Submission to his Majesty's Commands, and an inviolable fidelity to his Service; acknowledging that he was the greatest Instrument that God had chosen to protect and comfort them in their Miseries, and that it was to God that they applied themselves in continual Obligations of most ardent Vows for his Prosperity: And in the Conclusion begs leave that his Majesty would accept the weak Efforts of his Zeal, and permit him to style himself his Majesty's most humble and most obedient Subject and Servant, P. Allix. But forgetting all this when the Bishops were in the Tower, he said to one of his Acquaintance, What do the Temporal Lords mean? Why do they not fly to me?

Doctrine of Resistance; and for my part I never heard but of * one of them that was against it: The rest openly avow it, as *Jurieux* in Holland, and *Allix* now Canon of Salisbury, who although he had begg'd leave of King James to dedicate a † Book to him, in token of his Gratitude, and the Gratitude of his Countrymen, for the Protection and the Kindness they had received from him; yet upon the Revolution he did all he could to suppress the Dedication in which he had set forth his Majesty's Praises, and railed against him in his distress with all the Rage that a Tongue could do that was set on fire of Hell. That King was not ignorant of their Spirit, no more than their own; for when the Bishops interceded with his Majesty for a Brief in their Behalf, *My Lords*, said he, *Perhaps if you knew these Men as well as I, you would not ask this of me; but you shall see I am a Christian, and that I can do good to them that hate me. These Men I know are mine Enemies; but nevertheless I will not only grant them a Brief, that my People may relieve them, but I will also relieve them my self.* And as he foretold it came to pass; for they lifted in great numbers against him, and help'd to drive him out of his Kingdom of Ireland, although, Doctor, he had your Title of Providence to it, and was recognized by the Estates of the Realm. This, Doctor, I fear is the Spirit, and these the Principles, generally speaking, of the *Refugees*; and this Spirit, and these Principles, of which they give so many Signs, obliged the King for his own Security to send their Ministers out of his Kingdom; but he did not send them away empty, he did not send them to the Gallies, as you know who did. What I have said, Doctor, is out of justice, and not out of kindness to the *French Monarch*, I am none of those that wish he may prevail, and bear all before him like a *Torrent*; but I do not like that he should be ignorantly

and partially traduc'd by every foul mouth'd Pulpitier, when were it not for his invincible Mistake in Religion, he would be thought, even by you, one of the bravest Princes that ever wore a Crown: Nor have I any ill Will at his Protestant Subjects; I have been as great a Reliever of them in proportion to my Ability, as any other Man in the Kingdom, and should be glad to see a *Vindication* of them, that I might have a better Opinion of them. I grant the King hath persecuted them with very great Severity,

ty, and made havock of their Church, and am as sorry as you can be for it, and for the Cause of it; but then are there no persecutors among the Confederate Princes? Look about you, Doctor; set the Acts, and Edicts, and Executions of other Princes against his; and then you will find, that other Protestants besides the *French* have been *dragon'd*, and lost their Estates, their Lives, their Liberties, and their Countrey, for Conscience sake. In short, the *French* Apologists tell us, that the King persecuted them, because they intended to persecute him: This their own Consciences can tell them whether it be true or no; and if it be true, then their destruction is of themselves, and they have brought down their Ruine upon their own Heads. The Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who foretold the Downfall of their King, hath now foretold his Conversion, and their Restoration: It is some Months ago since he foretold that this would happen within a year; God grant his Prediction may prove true; it would make his Majesty a *Constantine* to his People: But yet I fear that would not satisfie some Men, nor reconcile their ulcerated Minds to him, unless with the *Papish Religion* he quitted the Interests of King *James*. This, Doctor, is another *crowned Head*, against whom you love to croak: All your malicious Speeches and Slanders of him, and particularly those in your first and second Letter concerning the *French Invasion*, are filed up in Heaven, and shall be brought in Evidence against you at the great Day of Judgment, when, without publick and bitter Repentance, you will appear at the left Hand, with *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Cook*, *Milton*, and *Thom. Goodwin*, and be sent with those Worthies of the Old Cause into your own place. You cannot be content with sober and wise Men among your Brethren, to say nothing of him; or when you speak, to speak of him as they do, with *Decency* and *Respect*: but you fall upon him as the Mob did at *Feversham*, with a brutal Rage, without any Regard to his Royal Name and Person, or to her Majesty and the Princess, whom you dishonour in reproaching of him: For let me tell you, Doctor, the *Disgrace* of the *Chief* always terminates in the *Clan*; and the Men of Honour will tell you, they are bound to revenge it; as soon as they have the Opportunity.

16. In this Sermon you also upbraid him with his Misfortunes, which no good Man can think of, without the greatest degree of Compassion; scornfully calling him *the late unfortunate Prince*. It is true, Doctor, he is *unfortunate*; but you should have remembred what *Solon* said of *Croesus*, and that what happens to *Kings* may also happen to *Divines*. You live now in great Prosperity, and State; but God may yet bring you down: He can when he pleases take off the Wheels of your Chariot, turn your Silver Candelsticks into Brass, and your Wax Candles into Tallow, and reduce you even beyond your first principals, yet before you dye. I with this may not happen to you, nor none of those who insult over the Calamities of that *unfortunate Prince*; but if it do so, remember you saw the Anguish of his Soul, and had no Pity for him, and then say, *therefore if this Distress come upon us*, — One of the *Nine Men*, when he heard him

him pitied, had the Barbarity to say, *Why, what matter is it? He is but a Bastard, Sr. Alban's Bastard;* and it is great pity that her Majesty had not been told of it, before he put on his *Lawn Sleeves*. We commonly say *Misfortunes are no Crimes;* and before you upbraid him with them again, remember his Father, the *Martyr of the Church of England*, was unfortunate before him, and had this also added to the rest of his Misfortunes, that he was reviled, and had in derision by such Sons of the Earth as you. But God supported him by his Grace, and made him *more than Conqueror;* and the same God which supported the Father, hath also upheld the Son under his Misfortunes; which let me tell you, had never come upon him, had you and your Brethren the Clergy done their Duty, as some of them did: And therefore methinks you should take no pleasure in ripping up his Misfortunes, which are *your Crimes*. He was *unfortunate* in you more than in his Lay Subjects: You might have saved him, as well as your Religion, if you would have preached but half as much for him as you did for that; but your general Silence in the needfull time betrayed him to all his Misfortunes, and Now *such as you* among your Brethren are very sorry that they are not greater, and mad against the *suffering Remnant*, because they do not renounce him in his Misfortunes, and murmur against God that hath preserved him, and laid Help upon one that is mighty for him; a mighty *Prince*, who hath long maintain'd more Legions than the *Roman Empire* did at the highest Pitch of Greatness, and who perhaps one day, like *Augustus* and *Trajan*, may inscribe upon his Medals coined upon such *glorious Occasions*, *REX PARTHIS REX ARMENIS DATUS;* for God seldom raises *Princes* to that Greatness, but he hath something extraordinary for them to doe. I must also remind you of another great Blessing, which God, who remembers Mercy in Judgment has bestowed upon him, and thereby enabled him the better to bear the loss of his Kingdoms: He hath given him of his most virtuous Queen a Royal * Son and Daughter, by whom I trust the Royal Family will be multiplied into many Branches, and come to be restored to its antient Rights and Glory. The Seed of the Royal Martyr is in them; and I hope it is no Crime to pray, that God would give them the *sure Mercies* of David, and let them grow up like tender Plants before him, in *Wisdom*, and *Stature*; and *Favour both with God and Man*.

17. Another thing, Doctor, I cannot but take notice of, is your *Parasitical* and most exorbitant manner of aggrandizing our late Victory at Sea, which encreases that Contempt the World had before of you, and hath given just occasion to some observing men, who have compared your Character of it with that of the Bishop of St. *Asaph* and Dr. *Scot* to affirm, that there was never so much Flattering heard from the *English Pulpits* as in these days. Dr. *Scot* in lofty strains saith, *That it is one of the most glorious and signal Victories that ever the Sea beheld;* and yet afterwards tells us how much their strength was inferiour to ours. And you say, that *no Story can equal it, except we compare it to the miraculous Overthrow of Pharaoh, and all his Host in the red Sea*. I profess to you, Doctor, I am no great Historian; but

* See the *Observator* published Monday Aug. 21. and Wednesday Aug. 23. 1682.

but to shew you much the Doctor and you shot above the mark, I will present you with a Summary of a few *Sea Fights*, where the Victory hath been incomparably greater than this last of ours.

In the Battel at *Salamis*, *Themistocles* with CCCLXXX defeated the *Persian* Navy, consisting of MCCC. In the Battel between the *Phalacrian* Promontory and the mouth of the River *Helicon* in *Sicily*, *C. Drullius* with a lesser Navy vanquished the *Carthaginian* Fleet, consisting of CXXX Sail, of which, besides those he destroyed, he took L, of which *Hannibal*, the Admiral's Ship, was one, and the greatest part of the *Carthaginians* were also slain. Before this, I think, *Claudius Pulcher*, the Consul, fighting with an ill *Omen* against the *Carthaginians*, was defeated, and of CCXX Ships he saved onely XXX, the Enemies having taken and sunk the rest, Twenty thousand being made Captives. *Atilius Regulus* and *Manlius Volso*, in another Sea Fight against *Amilcar*, took LXX Vessels, with all their men, and sunk LXIV. And *Marcus Aemilius*, and *Servius Fulvius*, with CCCL. Vessels, routed the Fleet of the *Carthaginians*, in which they killed XVM men, and took and sunk CXIV Ships. *C. Lucatius Catulus*, with no more than CCC Vessels, routed the *Carthaginian* Fleet, consisting of CCCC sail; of which he took L, and sunk LXX; or, as *Eutropius* writes, he took LXXIII, and sunk CXXV; took 30000 Prisoners, and slew 13000; after which, the *Carthaginians*, who had so bravely disputed the Empire of the Sea, were forced to sue for Peace; which I do not hear the *French* King hath done yet. But to take a great leap from Antient to modern History, at the Famous Battel of *Lepanto*, the Christians under the conduct of *Don John of Austria*, October 7. 1571. defeated the *Turkish* Fleet, though double in number of Gallies to theirs; and the particular Account of this great Victory is thus in *Knolls's Turkish History*. They took 161 Gallies, with 60 other smaller Vessels, and sunk and burnt 40 Gallies more. The number of the slain was uncertain, but they were reckoned about 30000, other Accounts say 25000, and they delivered 1200 Slaves; and all but with the loss of 7566 men. And within the memory of Man * *Blake*, in 1652, with 8 *Fregats* fought 12 *Dutch* Men of War, sank 3, and took the rest. † *June* 1653. the *English*, without the loss of one Ship, and but with the loss of 128 men, besides General *Dean*, and one Captain, took 20 *Dutch* Men of War, 1350 Prisoners, and their whole loss amounted, by their own computation, to 5000 men; among the Ships that were taken were one Viceadmiral, and two Rearadmirals. *August* the 1st, 1653. in a sharp Fight between the *English* and *Dutch*, near the Coast of *Holland*, the *English* according to General *Munk's* and Viceadmiral *Pen's* Account, sunk 30 of their Men of War, and took 1000 Prisoners, whereof Viceadmiral * *Eversen* was one, and killed about 3000, whereof † *Vaartump* the Admiral was one. The *Dutch* owned to have lost 27 Men of War in this Fight, and 6000 men; the *English* lost but two Ships, and about 250 men. And in the first *Dutch* War after the Restoration, the *English*, under the Conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, sunk

* *Whitlock's*
Memoirs, p.
513, 516.
† p. 532.

* *Id.* p. 544.
† *Id.* p. 545.

and

and destroyed 20 of the *Dutch Ships*, and blew up Admiral *Opdam*, with little loss on our side. These few Instances, Doctor, are enough to shew you, that there have been many greater Victories at Sea, than this last of ours, and I hope they will teach you hereafter to speak justly and adequately to your Subject, which *Longinus* makes one of the Characters of true Eloquence, and I believe it will go a great way in the Character of a wise and honest man.

But 8. I cannot also but observe, how many and great things you say of our *Deliverance*, page 29, 30. because you thought it no *Deliverance* not long before you took the Oath. To use your own Words against you, page 31. you thought it then a *Judgment* and *Calamity* to be so delivered, and like a good Casuist thought there might be some ways of *Deliverance* which a good man ought not to accept of; and some among our selves have heard you speak of Generous and Heroic Heathens, who have chosen to dye, rather than to deliver themselves by the Breach of their Oaths. Principles of strict Honesty and Justice went a great deal farther among them then, than they do now among some *Christians*; and, as you in those days would say, they shall rise up in Judgment against them, and condemn them: For then you could not see Wood for Trees, no more than those Men, in seeing you could not see this great and blessed *Deliverance*, nor understand it; and therefore, Doctor, it did not become you to reflect upon them who remain in an Errour which held you so long captive; your business should be to convince them, and to provoke them, to overcome them with soft Words and hard Arguments; but on the contrary you reproach them and revile them, telling the World, page 32. That they invite the French to conquer them, and to place a zealous Papist, and arbitrary Prince upon the Throne. Certainly, Doctor, never man made so many rods for his own back, as you do in all your Writings on this unhappy Controversie: For how long is it since you would have rejoiced to see this Prince upon his Throne again, and would have had the *Miracle* done, though France or Mahomet had done it? Is he more popish or arbitrary now than he was then? Or is it not as lawfull now as it was then to make distinction between the King and the Papist, and between the French, as French, and as the Allies of King James? The Dutch are a People that all the World knows have done the English forty times more and greater Injuries than the French have done; and yet we could, when time served, and still do distinguish between the Dutch as Dutch, and the Dutch as our Friends and Allies: And by consequence it would be false Logick, and a foul Reflexion upon some, to say that they invited the Dutch to conquer us. Well, but your meaning is, that you wonder that any English Protestants should invite the French to place King James in his Throne again: For my part I know no such English Protestants as invite the French upon any score; but Have you not left King James the legal Right to the Throne? And do not you allow him to prosecute it, and recover it if he can? And doth not the Law, from which, as you grant, he hath his Right to prosecute and recover, permit him also to seek Aid from the French, as well

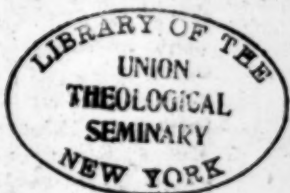
as from the Dutch or Spaniards? And I dare say, if these would bring him in, it would be all one to him, and to you too. Ay, but the French are Papists. And was not the last Pope but one a *Papist*? And was not *St. ...* privately sent to him; and did not he send a *Nuncio* privately to them? And are not the Spaniards *Inquisition-Papists*? Or did the French ever do so base a thing, as to say they were French, and no *Christians*; or have they not as much natural Humanity, as any other men? But they are arbitrary Masters: But what have we to do with them as Masters? And do not those that have to do with them, find them as good Masters as some find their Neighbours? And come, Doctor, tell me plainly, would you not accept of Help from the French, if you stood in need of it? Nay, Would you not onely accept of it, but be very glad of it too? And therefore can you blame your old Master, if he seeks for Help from France, since you to recover much less than Three Kingdoms would do the same thing? If he had choice of Assistance you might have some colour to blame him for accepting of French Help, and be angry with those who consider the French as his Allies. But here, Doctor, lies the Secret of your Displeasure: It is not the French as French, or any other thing, but as King James's Friends and Allies; that you and other Men hate them. You are afraid of him, and would hate the Dutch as well as the French, if they were his Friends: And the reason why you hate him is not that he is *papist* or *arbitrary*, but because if he recover his Throne you will lose your Chair. This, Doctor, is the hidden but true Resource of all the Venoms you discharge upon him and the French: You know you have sinned beyond measure, in the *Tempest* in the * Fable, which with the Reflection upon it I recommend to your perusal. *St. ...* could you have been secured of Pardon, and more Preferment upon his Restoration, I think you would never have written your two Letters against the French Invasion, nor have done the part of *Shimei* and *Milton* against him, as you have lately done. It is observed for your Honour, that neither you nor the other Pamphletiers preach'd or published one word against him before our late Victory over the French Fleet; and I am confident, if they had been victorious, the World had never seen your *Temple-Sermon*, nor Letters upon the *Pretext* of the French Invasion examined by that or any other hand. On the contrary, we should have had Books and Sermons of another make, and to another Tune, from the same Quarter, and Apologies for King James, and the most arbitrary of his Proceedings, upon those very Topics, from which (p. 23, 24, 25, 26) you shew in three particulars how needful it is to pray for Kings. I would to God, Doctor, you would seriously read them over again, and apply them to your old Master; and if you will do so, I heartily pray God, that while you read and so apply them, he would pour out upon you the Spirit of Prayer and Supplication, that you may look upon him whom you have pierced, and mourn for him, and all the Evils you have done against him, as one mourneth for his only Son.

* In Sir Roger
L'Estrange's
Elop's Fables.

The last thing I observe is a Contradiction of what you say, p. 179. by what you say, in p. 39. In the former place you truly tell us, *That No Prince can take our Religion from us, if we resolve to keep it; but they may disturb the Quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of it; which was the sense of the Church under the Heathen and persecuting Emperours.* This, Doctor, looks like something spoken by the *Author of Christian Prudence*, or one of those Men who distinguish between Religion and the External of Religion, to shew the Fallacies and Disingenuity of others, that will not distinguish between our Religion, and the *Peace, Profit, and Honour*, which by Law attend the Profession and Administration of it. But then you forget your self again, and run into this modish Fallacy in the latter place, where you tell us, *That we owe our Religion to K. William*, which cannot be true, if *King James could not take it from us*, as intimated he could not, let him have done the worst you can imagine, if we had had the Faith and Constancy of the Church under the persecuting Emperours: Had we followed their blessed Example, no Persecution could have hurt our Religion; but like the Persecutions in primitive Times, would have made it more august and venerable, and established it for ever; whereas it is now evil spoken of for your sakes, and seems to be drawing on to a fatal End in *Theism, Atheism, Schisms, Heresies, and Enthusiasm*, and an utter Contempt of the Clergy, of which you have as much reason to be sensible, as any other Man. But what need I to observe this Contradiction in you, who have contradicted your self so often, that it will take up a great part of your Time and Thoughts to view, and censure your own Writings, and finally, ~~what you will~~ stand to, and what you will have put in the ~~Collection of your Works~~, and what you will have left out of it. I know this is no acceptable Work to a great and haughty Writer; but, Doctor, it is a Work necessary to be done, and comfort your self with the Example of the great *St. Augustin*, and set about it presently, while it is called day, lest the Night come upon you, when you cannot work. You are bound in Honour and Conscience to do it, and the World expects it from you, and will censure you when you are dead, if you leave it undone. Consider therefore, Doctor, which of your contradictory Pieces is fit to stand in the Collection of your Works, to declare your last Opinion of things: Must the *Old Case of Nonresistance*, or the *New Case of Allegiance* make part of them? Will you stand by your *Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, and our Union and Communion with him, and the Defence and Continuation of that discourse*; or will you stand by the *Discourse concerning the Nature, Unity and Continuation of the Catholick Church*, which *Dr. Clegges* told you was a flat Contradiction to the two former, and which you have been told again and again the *Dissenters* make ill use of against the Church of England? Shall your *Sermons before*, or your *Sermons since you took the Oath*, make part of that Collection: By which of your two Faces will you be represented to Posterity, the Face that looks backward

ward before your Apostacy, or the Face that looks forward since you Apostatized from your Principles? And will you finally stand to your *Trisbeistical* Notion of the Trinity, which hath so exposed you to the *Arrians* and *Socinians*, or will you retract it? These are things, Doctor, that will require your most mature and serious Thoughts; and God grant, that you may so determine about them, as may be most for his Glory, the Honour of the Church of *England*, and that of your own Memory in Ages to come. *Amen.*

FINIS.



FERRATA.

IN the Dedication, page 1. line ult. after *give* insert *the Pope*. In the Contents, § 7. l. 2. for *is* r. *was*, § 18. l. 4. for *view* r. *review*. In the Book, p. 1. l. 12. after *believe* delete the Semi colon, p. 2. l. 39. after *as it was* put a Comma, p. 5. l. 39. f. by r. l. p. 12. l. 26. r. *revol*, l. 29. after *for* r. *the Prayers of*, p. 13. l. 40. r. *perish*, p. 14. l. 14. r. *Belisarius*, p. 19. l. 20. r. *Moubray*, p. 22. l. 12. for *stared* r. *stared*, l. 23. r. *will ever be*, p. 24. l. 19. f. *Idols* r. *Gods*, and for *Kings* r. *Gods*, p. 36. l. 4. r. to the Discretion, l. 36. r. **CONSTANTIAE**, p. 37. l. 6. f. *Pomana* r. *Roma*, l. 22. r. *a little of his Skill in Coins*, p. 38. l. 23. r. *dispute with*, l. 31. r. *commands*, p. 39. l. 22. r. and *that they are as*.